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ABSTRACT

This document reports on the Teacher Efficacy Study, an investigation of teachers' sense of efficacy and the extent to which teachers believe that they can have a positive effect on student learning and achievement. Chapters discuss: (1) overview of the Teacher Efficacy Study; (2) the conceptual framework used for the investigation; (3) the Teacher Efficacy Study at the middle school level, investigating school organization; (4) measurement of teachers' sense of efficacy; (5) a process-product study of teachers' sense of efficacy; (6) strategies for improving teachers' sense of efficacy; (7) efficacy and the teacher's analysis of efficacy and teacher roles; (8) efficacy, uncertainty, and status panic; (9) a qualitative study of efficacy; and (10) the teaching profession, its risks, and implications for the future. Eight figures and 55 tables accompany the text as does an extensive bibliography. (CJ)

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A STUDY OF TEACHERS' SENSE OF EFFICACY

FINAL REPORT
VOLUME I

PATRICIA T. ASHTON

RODMAN B. WEBB

NANCY DODA

FOUNDATIONS OF EDUCATION
UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

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Preface

The Teacher Efficacy Study was initiated on the basis of two Rand Corporation evaluation studies that reported a significant relationship between teachers' sense of efficacy, that is, the extent to which teachers believe they can have a positive effect on student learning, and student achievement. The purposes of our teacher efficacy research were (1) to develop a conceptual framework for understanding the nature, antecedents, and consequences of efficacy attitudes in teachers, and (2) to suggest further research necessary to reject, elaborate, and/or extend the conceptual framework. More specifically, our objectives were to clarify the nature of the efficacy construct by investigating (1) factors that facilitate and inhibit development of a sense of efficacy in teachers, (2) teacher behaviors that are indicative of a sense of efficacy, (3) effects of teachers' sense of efficacy on students, other teachers, and other aspects of the school environment, and (4) methods of influencing the development of teachers' sense of efficacy. Major characteristics of the Teacher Efficacy Study included (1) a multidisciplinary approach, (2) a comparative field study of the effects of different organizational structures of schools on efficacy, (3) a process-product study of teacher efficacy, teacher and student behavior, and student achievement, and (4) the evaluation of a small-scale attempt to influence sense of efficacy.

The multidisciplinary approach to the study of efficacy was central to our study. In developing the preliminary conceptual framework, we examined the research literature in a number of related fields, including personality theory, industrial psychology, organizational sociology, sociology of occupations and schools, and educational anthropology. At various stages of the project, we also consulted an advisory group that included educational psychologists and sociologists, social psychologists, an anthropologist, a school organizational theorist, teacher effectiveness researchers, and classroom teachers.

A preliminary conceptual framework based on the literature review and advice of the advisory group was used to guide the design of the first phase of data collection in the spring of 1980. The basic procedures guiding this phase of data collection were derived from Glaser and Strauss's (1967) description of the discovery of grounded theory; specifically, the collection, coding, and analysis of data were carried out together to maximize the possibility of generating theory. During the preliminary data collection phase, 49 teachers at two organizationally different middle schools responded to a questionnaire that probed their feelings about teaching and the influences of the school organization upon their efficacy attitudes, and four teachers, two with high efficacy attitudes and two with low efficacy attitudes, were observed five times as they taught two of their classes and were interviewed regarding the frustrations and rewards of teaching.

The second phase of the Teacher Efficacy Study was based on the results of our middle school research and consisted of (1) a process-product study of 48 high school basic skills teachers, (2) interviews with the basic skills teachers in which we explored their efficacy attitudes, and (3) a pilot study comparison of three approaches to increase teacher efficacy. Findings from the two phases of data collection were used to refine the conceptual framework and to generate suggestions for further research.

The results of the Teacher Efficacy Study indicate that teachers differ in their efficacy attitudes, and these differences are reflected in teacher behaviors and students' performance. Our results also demonstrate that efficacy attitudes are elusive and changing. They are susceptible to many interactive influences, including personal, student, organizational, political, economic, collegial, and administrative influences. Future research efforts to improve teachers' sense of efficacy require an ecological perspective that takes into account the complex interactive relationships between teacher efficacy and the school environment. Four contexts that are particularly relevant for the design of research to enhance teacher efficacy include teacher education programs, beginning teacher socialization practices, school organization, and parent-teacher relations.

Our interviews with teachers revealed that feelings of efficacy are difficult to maintain in the current context of teaching. Uncertainty, isolation, and a sense of powerlessness threaten teachers' sense of professional self-esteem, and the lack of adequate economic rewards and societal recognition increase teachers' feeling of self-doubt. Future research should address these problems. We believe that teacher efficacy offers educators and researchers a powerful organizing construct for directing future research and educational improvement. We have found that teacher efficacy is of significant value in understanding teachers' definitions of their role, their attitudes toward their work, and their interactions with students. As a consequence, we believe that teacher efficacy shows promise as a useful indicator for guiding and evaluating school-wide improvements and classroom improvements, and most important, we believe that developing teachers' sense of efficacy is critical for attaining the goal of equal educational opportunity.

We would like to express our appreciation to the individuals whose valuable assistance enabled us to complete this project. Our consultants, Dan Lortie and Ray Rist, gave important guidance in the initial conceptualization of this study. We wish to express a special thanks to Richard deCharms who lit the spark sixteen years ago that motivated the obsession with the notion of personal efficacy that culminated in this study and who provided us with an invaluable model for judging our research 'efficacy.' We are indebted to Virginia Koehler, our Project Director at the National Institute of Education, for her support and encouragement, and to Michael Cohen, also of NIE, for his special insights into the ecology of teaching.

We are grateful to Mel Lucas and Gayle McLaurin of the Alachua County School District for providing us with the student achievement data and to Stephen Olejnik, Marilyn McAuliffe, Linda Crocker, and Dianne Buhr for their technical assistance in data analysis and for their ideas for measuring teacher efficacy.

We are especially grateful to Robert and Ruth Soar for their inestimable contribution to the study through their ever-patient training of our observers and their meticulous analysis of the process-product data. We wish to thank our observers, Patricia Birkett, Tess Bennett, Marty Peters, Barbara Rubin, and Pam Vetro, for their persistence in learning a complicated system of interaction analysis and meeting a rigorous schedule of observations.

We would like to acknowledge Tom Good and Douglas Grouws for sharing their workshop materials with us.

Robert Sherman, our department chairman, gave us the support without which this project would have been impossible.

Elise Webb helped code and interpret ethnographic data and took over many tasks, academic and domestic, that freed others to concentrate on this research. The present acknowledgment is no recompense but stands as an IOU taken in public.

We owe a special debt of gratitude to our student assistants, Zulal Balpinar, Linda DerHaag, and Wendy Elliott, for their patience and persistence in transcribing endless audiotapes, typing manuscripts, and for their courage in enduring the trauma of mastering the computer. Elsie Voss's contribution to our work on this and other projects is inestimable and deeply appreciated.

Finally and most importantly, we wish to thank the principals, teachers, and students who welcomed our intrusions into their busy lives and gave generously of their time and ideas to help us better understand the frustrations and rewards of teaching.

Table of Contents

Page

List of Tables i
List of Figures v

1. Overview of the Teacher Efficacy Study 1
   Introduction 1
   The Need for an Ecological Perspective 2
   Context of Phase 1 Data Collection 7
   Context of Phase 2 Data Collection 9
   Overview of the Report 9

2. The Conceptual Framework for the Study of Teachers' Sense of Efficacy 11
   Teachers' Sense of Efficacy: A Multi-dimensional Construct 11
   Teachers' Sense of Efficacy and Student Achievement . . . 15
   An Ecological Perspective on Teachers' Sense of Efficacy 17
   Conclusion 24

3. The Middle School Teacher Efficacy Study 25
   Introduction 25
      School Organization and Efficacy: The Open-Ended Questions 27
         The Effective Situation 28
         The Ineffective Situation 28
         Factors Contributing to Teacher Efficacy 31
         Factors Contributing to Teacher Inefficacy 31
         Facilitators and Inhibitors of Efficacy 31
         Teacher Role Perceptions 37
         Summary and Implications for Teachers' Sense of Efficacy 39
         Teacher Stress 42

      School Organization and Efficacy: The Fixed-Alternative Questions 46
         School Climate and Teachers' Sense of Efficacy . . . 46
         Job Satisfaction and Teachers' Sense of Efficacy . . 47
         Results 49
         Discussion 53

      School Organization and Teachers' Sense of Efficacy: A Microethnography 58
         Introduction 58
         Methodology 58
         Results 61
         Teacher Relationships 71
         Conclusion 89

4. Measurement of Teachers' Sense of Efficacy 90
    Introduction. 90
    Teaching Efficacy and Personal Teaching Efficacy: Conceptually Distinct Dimensions. 94
    Alternative Approaches to Measurement of Efficacy 94
    Conclusion. 105

5. A Process-Product Study of Teachers' Sense of Efficacy . . . 106
    Introduction 106
    Subjects. 106
    Process-Product Measures. 106
    Observational Data Collection Procedures. 108
    Analysis of Process-Product Measures. 108
    Definitions for Categories Used on Engagement Rate Form . 109
    An Empirical Search for Behavioral Correlates of Teachers' Sense of Efficacy 135
    Conclusion. 137

6. Strategies for Improving Teachers' Sense of Efficacy 139
    Subjects 140
    Procedures. 140
    Results 141
    Discussion. 141

7. Efficacy and the Teacher's Role: An Analysis of Ethnographic Interview Data. 145
    Introduction. 145
    Role Analysis 148
    Methodology 149
    The Context of Teaching: Isolation and Doubt 151
    Teacher Role Expectations 156
    The Role Expectations Checklist 162
    Peer Pressure: Tales Told Around the School. 163
    Vulnerability and Impression Management: Talking a Good Game 172
    Teaching Poverty Students 178
    Summary 191

8. Efficacy, Uncertainty, and Status Panic. 195
    Introduction 195
    Status Awareness 196
    Status Panic and Teacher Isolation 207
    Uncertainty, Isolation and Alienation 222

9. A Qualitative Study of Efficacy. 225
    Introduction 225
    On the Significance of Context: An Introduction to Theory 234
    The Core Variable: Maintaining Professional Self-Esteem 238
    Three Domains of Teaching. 242
    Defining the Situation and Achieving Self-Respect. . . . 245
    Classroom Management 250
    Instruction. 279
    Student-Teacher Relationships. 301
    Summary. 304

10. Teachers: Professionals at Risk 306
  Recommendations for Research to Increase Teacher Efficacy . . 306
    Transforming Experiments 306
    Teacher Efficacy and Teacher Education 311
    Organizational Approaches to Increasing Teacher Efficacy . 324
    Teacher Efficacy and Educational Bureaucracy and the Illusion of Professional Autonomy 327
    Teacher Efficacy and Parent-Teacher Relations 331
  Conclusion 334

References 335

List of Tables

Pages

1. Frequency and Percentage of Teachers' Attributions of Success and Failure to Self, Student, and to Self and Student Jointly

2. Efficacy Situations 29

3. Inefficacy Situations 30

4. Factors Contributing to Teacher Efficacy 32

5. Factors Contributing to Teacher Inefficacy 33

6. Facilitators of Efficacy 35

7. Inhibitors of Efficacy 36

8. Teacher Role Perception Categories 38

9. Teacher Stressors 44

10. Teacher Coping Strategies 45

11. School Means and Standard Deviation for Questionnaire Data . . . 50

12. Chi-Square Tests of School Differences 51

13. Wilcoxin Tests of School Differences 52

14. Distribution of Efficacy Responses by School 52

15. Teachers' Attribution of Responsibility for Failure 54

16. Chi-Square Tests of Relation between Efficacy (Item 1) and other Teacher Attitudes 55

17. Chi-Square Tests of Relation between Efficacy (Item 2) and Other Teacher Attitudes 56

18. Schedule of Observations 59

19. Distribution of Responses by School on Two-Item Rand Efficacy Scale 91

20. Correlation of Rand Efficacy 1 with Rand Efficacy 2 in Six Samples 95

List of Tables (Cont'd) Pages

21. Webb Efficacy Items Omitted by Teachers 97

22. Correlations of Webb Efficacy Items with Rand Efficacy 1 and 2 98

23. Correlations of Efficacy Vignette Items with Rand Efficacy 1 and 2 100

24. Intercorrelation Matrix for Sense of Control Scales 104

25. Definitions for Categories Used on Engagement Rate Form . . 109

26. Item Correlations with Soars' Classroom Environment for Learning Paradigm Factor Scores--Emotional Climate 112

27. Item Correlations with Soars' Classroom Environment for Learning Paradigm Factor Scores--Management Behavior . . 114

28. Item Correlations with Soars' Classroom Environment for Learning Paradigm Factor Scores--Management of Learning Tasks 116

29. Item Correlations with Soars' Classroom Environment for Learning Paradigm Factor Scores--Management of Thinking . . .117

30. Intraclass Correlation Estimates of Reliability of Classroom Process Factor Measures 119

31. Metropolitan Mathematics Means for Basic Skills Mathematics Classes 120

32. Metropolitan Language test Means for Basic Skills Communication Classes 121

33. Metropolitan Reading Test Means for Basic Skills Communication Classes 122

34. Means and Standard Deviations for Normalized Teacher Attitude, Classroom Process Variables and Metropolitan Mathematics Achievement Test Scores for Basic Skills Mathematics Classrooms 123

35. Partial Correlations of Teacher Attitude and Classroom Process Variables and Student Metropolitan Mathematics Achievement 124

36. Multiple Regression Analysis of 1981 Metropolitan Mathematics Test Achievement 126

37. Means and Standard Deviations for Normalized Teacher Attitude, Classroom Process Variables, and Metropolitan Reading and Language Achievement Test Scores for Basic Skills Communication Teachers 127

38. Partial Correlations of Teacher Attitude and Classroom Process Variables and Student Metropolitan Language Achievement 128

39. Multiple Regression Analysis of 1981 Metropolitan Language Achievement Test 129

40. Partial Correlations of Teacher Attitude and Classroom Process Variables and Student Reading Achievement 131

41. Means and Standard Deviations of Teacher Attitudes and Classroom Process Variables 132

42. Correlations between Teacher Attitudes and Behaviors Based on a Paradigm of the Classroom Atnosphere for Learning 133

43. Correlations of Rand Efficacy 1 with Classroom Process Variables 135

44. Correlations of Rand Efficacy 2 with Classroom Process Variables 137

45. Means and Standard Deviations of the Climate and Control System Student Attention Rating 142

46. Racial Composition and Percentage of Poverty Students in Participating Schools 147

47. Distribution of Responses by School on Two-Item Rand Efficacy Scale 180

48. Number of High and Low Efficacy Teachers Interviewed by Grade Level 181

49. Average Starting Salaries of Public School Teachers Compared with Salaries in Private Industry, 1978-1979 198

50. Trends in Earnings, Selected Occupations, 1967-1978 200

51. Salaries of Classroom Teachers in Regular Public Elementary/Secondary Schools 202

52. Job Satisfaction: Opinions of Public School Teachers 206

List of Tables (Cont'd) Pages

53. Earned Bachelor's Degrees in Education 208

54. Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) Score Average for College-Bound Seniors 209

55. Attitudes toward the Teaching Profession: Opinions of Public School Teachers 210

List of Figures

Pages

1. Elements of the Multi-Method, Multi-Person, Multi-Situation, and Multi-Variable Matrix (modified from Smith, 1978). 8

2. Teacher's Sense of Efficacy: The Multi-Dimensional Construct. 12

3. Comparison of Motivational, Cognitive and Affective Outcomes of Low Sense of Efficacy. 14

4. Teachers' Sense of Efficacy: The Critical Construct in a Motivational Model of Teacher Behavior and Student Achievement. 16

5. Teachers' Sense of Efficacy: The Measurement Model. 93

6. A Paradigm of the Environment for Learning. 110

7. Teacher Efficacy Perceptions. 225

8. Teacher Efficacy Perceptions and Teacher Effectiveness. 227

Chapter 1

Overview of the Teacher Efficacy Study

Introduction

Several research studies (Coleman, Campbell, Hobson, McPartland, Mood, Weinfeld, and York, 1966; Jencks, Smith, Aclund, Bane, Cohen Gintis, Heyns, and Michelson, 1972) have questioned the effect of teachers on achievement. The doubts raised by these studies in combination with a public loss of confidence in the competence of teachers have had a serious demoralizing effect on teachers' sense of professional self worth. This demoralization is reflected in the significant decline in teachers' satisfaction with teaching as a profession. The 1981 National Education Association's Status of the American Public School Teacher Survey (NEA, 1981) indicated that less than 22 percent of the teachers questioned replied that they certainly would become a teacher if they could start over again, a drop of about 30 percentage points since 1966.

Recent research suggesting that teacher attitudes can have a significant impact on student achievement (Armor, Conry-Osquera, Cox, Kin, McDonnel, Pascal, Pauly, and Zellman, 1976; Berman, McLaughlin, Bass, Pauly and Zellman, 1977) and even on students' adult status (Pedersen, Faucher, & Eaton, 1978) offers badly needed support to teachers' declining sense of self-worth. In the past, research efforts to identify specific teacher attitudes have been, for the most part, discouraging (Dunkin & Biddle, 1974; Getzels & Jackson, 1963). Thus, the two Rand Corporation evaluation studies conducted by Armor and Berman and their colleagues indicating that teachers' sense of efficacy is a factor related to student achievement represent a significant breakthrough in terms of the insight they provide on the specific nature of teacher attitudes likely to influence student achievement.

The construct of teachers' sense of efficacy is defined as "the extent to which the teacher believes he or she has the capacity to produce an effect on the learning of students" and was derived from Rotter's (1966) social learning theory (Armor et al., 1976, p. 23). In both Rand studies, teacher sense of efficacy was measured by the total score obtained from two Likert scale items:

1. When it comes right down to it, a teacher really can't do much because most of a student's motivation and performance depends on his or her home environment.

   1) Strongly agree   2) Agree   3) Neither agree nor disagree   4) Disagree   5) Strongly disagree

2. If I really try hard, I can get through to even the most difficult or unmotivated students.

   1) Strongly agree 2) Agree 3) Neither agree nor disagree 4) Disagree 5) Strongly disagree

(Berman et al., 1977, pp. 159-160)

The importance that the Rand studies attribute to teachers' sense of efficacy and the current dissatisfaction and disillusion with the profession experienced by many teachers emphasize the critical need to understand the processes that influence the development of teacher efficacy. The purpose of the Teacher Efficacy Study reported in this volume was to develop a conceptual framework for future research of the relationship between teachers' sense of efficacy and student achievement. Specifically, we sought to clarify the nature of the sense of efficacy construct, by investigating (1) various methods for measuring teachers' sense of efficacy, (2) factors that facilitate and inhibit development of a sense of efficacy in teachers, (3) teacher behaviors that are indicative of a sense of efficacy, (4) the relationship of teachers' sense of efficacy to student behavior and achievement, and (5) methods of influencing the development of teacher efficacy.

The Need for an Ecological Perspective

While the focus of this study was a single teacher characteristic -- sense of efficacy -- its nature, antecedents and consequences, and its role in student achievement--the assumptions guiding this study depart significantly from traditional approaches to the study of teacher effectiveness. Traditional research in teaching has focused on the teacher as the central, controlling figure in classroom interaction and has utilized a simple, cause-effect model for analyzing the effect of teacher attitudes and behavior on student achievement. The view of the teacher as an independent determinant of students' classroom behavior and learning grossly oversimplifies the complex reality of life in classrooms (Carew & Lightfoot, 1979). Students exert a powerful influence on teacher behavior (Brophy & Good, 1974; Cohen, 1972; Cooper, 1979; Yarrow, Waxler & Scott, 1971). Indirect effects of home, community and culture assume an important role in life in classrooms, as do the specific contextual effects of the organization of instruction and the nature of the school (Bossert, 1979; Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Doyle, 1978). Thus, an adequate description of the relationship between teachers' sense of efficacy and student achievement in classrooms requires a perspective that can accommodate the many reciprocal and indirect influences impinging on teachers and students. To capture the complex reality influencing the teacher in the classroom, we adopted the ecological orientation recommended by Bronfenbrenner (1976; 1977; 1979). Research based on an ecological perspective must incorporate (1) a concern for contextual effects, (2) investigation of indirect and reciprocal effects, and (3) consideration of the subjective experiences of the research participants (Bronfenbrenner, 1976). Each of these requirements will be examined in terms of their importance in understanding teachers' sense of efficacy.

The Context of Teaching

The specific teaching context has often been cited as an important determinant of teaching behavior. Many contextual characteristics, including the size of the class (Glass & Smith, 1979), characteristics of students (Brophy & Evertson, 1981; Good & Grouws, 1977), the subject matter (McDonald & Elias, 1976) and the activity structure of the lessons (Bossert, 1979), have been demonstrated to influence teachers' classroom behavior. Similarly, teachers' sense of efficacy is likely to be influenced significantly as a result of the context in which the teacher works.

A variety of studies provide insight into the situational and contextual features that are likely to influence teachers' sense of efficacy. The situationally specific nature of teacher efficacy and its susceptibility to subtle classroom variables were suggested in a clever study by Cooper, Burger & Seymour (1979). The three major factors identified as having causal influences on the teacher's classroom control perceptions and success expectancies for a specific instructional interaction: the initiator of the interaction (teacher or pupil), the interaction setting (public or private), and the performance expectations for the student (high or low). Three kinds of teacher control were considered: control over timing, control over content, and control over duration. Results indicated that high-ability students were perceived as more controllable than low-ability students; teacher-initiated interactions were perceived as providing more control than student-initiated interactions; and the setting had effects on perceived control of interaction duration. Interactions with high-ability students were seen as more likely to lead to successful outcomes than interactions with low-ability students. Another example of contextual effects on efficacy was provided by Metz (1978) in her comparative study of two junior high schools. Metz concluded that when student behavior is visibly disruptive in a total school, teachers are less likely to see their problems in teaching as solely due to their own personal inadequacies, while in a school in which students are basically orderly, teachers are more likely to see themselves as responsible for classroom management problems. Since other teachers' classrooms are orderly, the disorder in their classrooms must be due to their personal shortcomings as teachers. These teachers would be less likely to admit difficulties or seek help, because they would have to admit their incompetence relative to other teachers in the school. Metz suggested that school differences in observable disorder lead the teacher to seek different approaches to dealing with the problem of management. Teachers in schools with visible order problems are more likely to seek solutions in major school changes, through re-evaluation of school goals and relationships, while the teachers who perceive themselves as individually responsible for their classroom management difficulties will seek solutions in pragmatic methods designed to deal with specific student behavior or motivation problems. In support of the impact of contextual effects, Metz observed that teachers in the school in her study with visible order problems responded to these difficulties by evolving a more articulated awareness of their philosophical attitudes toward teaching and students, while teachers at the school without such problems remained characteristically unable to articulate their philosophical approach to teaching, their goals, or student-teacher relationships.

As demonstrated in the two studies by Cooper, Burger & Seymour (1979) and Metz (1978), context assumes a critical role in teachers' perceptions of their efficacy. Consequently, the nature of the teaching context and its impact on teachers' sense of efficacy was a crucial focus of the Efficacy Study.

Indirect and Reciprocal Effects on Teachers' Sense of Efficacy

Traditional research approaches that assume unidirectional effects and conceive of explanations in terms of antecedents and consequences are inadequate for the task of representing the complexity of the relationships existing in regard to teachers' sense of efficacy. The importance of conceptualizing teacher-student interaction in the classroom in terms of a reciprocal model has been emphasized by Cohen (1972):

> [A] piece of advice that sociologists might offer is that propositions about the relationship between teacher activities and student learning will depend on the state of the social system in the classroom. It is most unwise to use a simple unidirectional causal model to characterize the classroom, for example, teachers affect students through what they say, how they question, how they explain, and through the use of curriculum materials. Studies of the classroom as a complex social system suggest that cause and effect can run in several directions. Students have effects on each other. The informal social structure produces differential treatment of students by the teacher. Furthermore, the effects which students have on the teacher and on other students tend to build up over time. This kind of a characterization of learning in the classroom calls for theories capable of handling feedback effects and processes which can change over time. (p. 444)

The ecological approach requires the consideration of reciprocal relations among variables; for example, teachers who believe that they can have an effect on student learning are likely to work harder with their students, who are, consequently, more likely to perform well on achievement tests, which is likely to have a positive effect on teachers' sense of efficacy, and this process is likely to continue in a cyclical fashion. Ethnographic analyses that permitted study of mutual relationships among variables were an integral part of the Teacher Efficacy Study.

An ecological perspective demands that "indirect" effects be included in an explanatory model. For example, parent influences are certain to be impinging on the teacher-student relation as are school climate influences, such as administrative and physical plant effects.

These indirect environmental effects outside the school setting must be considered in order to obtain an adequate description of teachers' sense of efficacy. Teachers' family relationships, social support network, and community involvement activities are also likely to affect their personal sense of efficacy. Interdependencies between school and experiences in other settings were considered in order to identify indirect influences on teachers' sense of efficacy.

Phenomenological Analysis: Teachers' Subjective Perceptions

Medley (1978) pointed out that a major weakness of traditional process-product teacher effectiveness research is the failure to include the teachers' intent in the analysis. Observational data are unable to detect the effect of different participants' perceptions of the situation in determining their behavior and their sense of efficacy. No doubt, teachers differ in the criteria they use to judge their efficacy and the stringency with which they evaluate their behavior and that of their students. As Jackson (1968) noted, teachers, for the most part, do not define their sense of efficacy in terms of students' scores on achievement tests. Thus, to evaluate teacher effectiveness solely on the basis of a criterion that teachers do not accept is likely to lead to conclusions regarding teacher effectiveness that may be unwarranted when viewed in terms of the teachers' objectives and definition of teacher effectiveness.

Fenstermacher (1978) emphasized another problem implicit in the failure of traditional process-product research to consider teachers' subjective perceptions. According to Fenstermacher (1978), current teacher effectiveness research has been focusing on the wrong questions, because concern for identifying teachers' behavior that increase student achievement will not necessarily result in changes in teachers' behavior. If a significant change in teachers' behavior is the objective, research must address the question of why teachers engage in the behaviors that they do. Fenstermacher pointed out that teachers' subjectively reasonable beliefs will maintain their behaviors despite objectively reasonable evidence to the contrary, unless evidence is provided to challenge their subjectively reasonable beliefs. Before such a challenge can be delivered, a precise understanding of teachers' beliefs must be obtained. To further our understanding of teacher beliefs, Fenstermacher called for research that explores the intentions underlying teachers' behavior. Citing Shulman and Lanier, he emphasized the importance of recognizing that teachers' actions must be understood in light of the meanings they attach to them:

> How teachers behave and what they do is directed in no small way by what they think. It is the relationship between thought and action that becomes the critical issue in research on teaching. (Shulman & Lanier, 1977, p. 44)

Citing Harré and Secord (1972), Fenstermacher argued for the legitimacy of the study of teachers' thinking as crucial to an adequate explanation of teachers' behavior:

> The things that people say about themselves and other people should be taken seriously as reports of data relevant to phenomena that really exist and which are relevant to the explanation of behavior . . . A person's use of ordinary language in describing his own and others' actions, in thinking about and preparing himself for action is vital to a proper behavioral science. (Harre and Secord, 1972, pp. 7, 299)

Once we have acquired an understanding of why teachers behave as they do, we can then begin to identify strategies for changing their behaviors and beliefs that are likely to maintain their ineffective behaviors.

In response to Fenstermacher's recommendation for an investigation of teachers' intentions as the basis for developing an understanding of their behavior and to Bronfenbrenner's concern for establishing the phenomenological validity of research results, one of the major sources of data for this study was teachers' perceptions and feelings regarding the nature of their sense of efficacy and the factors affecting it. Teachers' perceptions alone, however, are inadequate for specifying how their sense of efficacy develops and affects student achievement. A variety of studies have indicated that teachers' self-report about their behavior and their actual behavior are not always related (Barr & Duffy, 1978). A particularly good example of teachers' self-report of their behavior failing to correspond consistently with their classroom behavior was provided by Evertson and Brophy (1974). Thus, the analysis of teachers' self-report of their efficacy was supplemented with classroom observations of their behavior.

In summary, an adequate description of teachers' sense of efficacy required a systems approach that represents indirect and reciprocal effects of teachers' sense of efficacy, is based on a phenomenological analysis of the teachers' perceptions of what their sense of efficacy entails, what influences it, and how it affects their behavior, and is considered in terms of the specific context in which teaching occurs.

A Multi-Method, Multi-Person, Multi-Situation, Multi-Variable Approach to Data Collection

(Smith & Pohland, 1974)

In order to develop a comprehensive conceptual framework for the study of teacher efficacy, a two-phase process of data collection was adopted. The first stage of data collection took place during March, April and May of 1980 and was based on Glaser and Strauss' approach to the discovery of grounded theory. The design of the second stage of data collection emerged as the result of the analysis of the first-phase data and consisted of a systematic observation study of basic skills mathematics and communication teachers in four high schools during the winter and spring of 1981.

The importance of considering multiple data sources in building a comprehensive conceptual framework has been noted by many methodologists (e.g., Campbell & Fiske, 1959; Sieber, 1973; Smith, 1978). Figure 1 outlines the multiple data sources considered in the Efficacy Study.

Context of Phase 1 Data Collection

Selection of appropriate schools for study was based on the guidelines for sampling delineated in descriptions of strategy for developing an empirically grounded theory (Conrad, 1978; Glaser & Strauss, 1967); that is, schools were identified on the basis of their hypothesized theoretical relevance to the sense of efficacy construct. Two schools were identified that were maximally differentiated on a number of organizational variables conceived to be of significance in influencing teachers' sense of efficacy.

The school organizational dimensions expected to affect teachers' sense of efficacy were (1) multi-age versus single-age grouping, (2) interdisciplinary versus self-contained, single subject-matter classrooms, and (3) flexible, exploratory curriculum versus traditional junior high curriculum. The two middle schools selected for study consisted of grades six through eight and were similar in size (approximately one thousand students), in urban location, and in racial and SES composition, comprised predominantly of minority and low socioeconomic level students. School A, however, had a modern middle-school orientation; that is, multi-age grouping, team teaching, and a flexible, exploratory curriculum. Approximately 160 students were assigned to a team of five teachers who shared responsibility for the curriculum. These students remained in the same group with the same teachers for three years. School B, on the other hand, was organized in a traditional junior high fashion, with students assigned to different teachers for different subject matter. Evidence to support the expectation that the two school organizations would have a differential effect on teachers' sense of efficacy was derived from a study of open-space schools reported by Meyer (1971).

Teachers at the two schools were asked to spend two hours completing a questionnaire designed to investigate their perceptions of teaching. Half of the teachers at each of the two schools completed the questionnaire. The number of teachers completing the questionnaire at the middle school was 29 and 20 at the junior high. Following scoring of the teachers' responses to the two Rand items, two teachers with a high-efficacy score and two teachers with a low-efficacy score were identified at each of the schools. To reduce the confounding effect of context, teachers of similar subject matter were selected for observation: social studies and language arts and reading. Teachers were observed teaching two of their classes from four to five times over a six-week period. Observers took ethnographic field notes during each of their visits. After the observations were completed, the observers completed an hour-long interview with their teachers. The day after the end of classes for the year, participating teachers met at the University with the field observers to react to preliminary interpretations of the data.

1. Methods

    1.1 Questionnaires
    1.2 Projective measures
    1.3 Observation
    1.4 Informal interviews
    1.5 Documents

2. Persons

    2.1 Students
    2.2 Cooperating teachers
    2.3 Principals
    2.4 Other teachers

3. Situations

    3.1 Students
    3.2 Classroom teaching
    3.3 Multiple schools
    3.4 Curriculum planning meetings
    3.5 Faculty meetings

4. Variables

    4.1 Individual: traits, attitudes, perceptions, motives, behaviors
    4.2 Group: interaction, activity
    4.3 Organizational: schools

Figure 1: Elements of the multimethod, multiperson, multisituation, and multivariable matrix (modified from Smith, 1978)

Context of Phase 2 Data Collection

In an effort to obtain systematic observation data to support the hypotheses generated from the grounded theory study of the two middle schools, a process-product study of 48 basic skills communication and mathematics teachers from four high schools was conducted. Basic skills classes were selected for study because we felt that these classes, comprised primarily of low socioeconomic level black students who had experienced repeated failures, were likely to make teachers' sense of efficacy especially salient. Observers were trained in the use of three systematic observation instruments: the Florida Climate and Control Schedule (Soar & Soar, 1981), Teacher Practices Observation Record (Brown, 1968), and a student engagement rate form, an observational schedule adapted from Stallings and Kaskowitz (1974) by Research for Better Schools (Huitt, Traver & Caldwell, 1981). Following training, observers visited the teachers' classrooms from two to six times during a four-month period and completed a series of observations using each of the three instruments during each of their visits. The majority of participating teachers also completed a questionnaire assessing their sense of efficacy and instructional practices and also completed an hour-long interview with one of the observers.

Overview of the Report

In Chapter 2, the conceptual framework for future research on teachers' sense of efficacy is presented. Bronfenbrenner's ecological approach provides the basic framework for organizing the relationships between teachers' sense of efficacy and the variables conceived to be related to it.

The comparative study of the two organizationally different middle schools is reported in Chapter 3. This study consisted of three different approaches to the study of school organizational effects on efficacy: an open-ended questionnaire, a fixed alternative questionnaire, and an ethnographic comparison of two teachers from each school. The results of each of these methodologies indicate that the interdisciplinary team-based school with multi-age grouping of students had a positive relationship to teachers' sense of efficacy.

Several approaches to measurement of teachers' efficacy are presented in Chapter 4. The difficulty of developing reliable and valid self-report measures of teacher efficacy is discussed and various strategies for dealing with these problems are considered.

In Chapter 5, the process-product study of the relationships between teacher efficacy, teacher behavior and student achievement in 48 high school basic skill mathematics and communication classes is described. From these data, it appears that teachers' sense of efficacy promotes development of a positive, supportive classroom climate that facilitates student achievement and, in turn, a higher sense of efficacy.

A pilot study comparing the effectiveness of three different strategies for increasing efficacy is reported in Chapter 6. We conclude from this study that a school-wide approach in which organizational structures are developed to bolster teachers' sense of efficacy is likely to be the most effective approach for increasing teachers' sense of efficacy.

In Chapter 7, we report on the results of a social-psychological analysis of interviews conducted with 33 of the middle and high school teachers who participated in the Efficacy Study. The purpose of the interviews was to investigate how teachers define and experience their work in the schools. Analysis of the interview data indicated that the social psychological climate of the school promotes self-doubt, conformity, and impression management among teachers. Work with low-achieving students intensifies the environmental pressures upon teachers. Low and high efficacy teachers differed in their approach to dealing with the threats and frustrations of teaching low-achieving students. High efficacy teachers maintained high academic expectations of their students and established friendly, supportive relations with them. Low-efficacy teachers were more likely to lose patience with their low achieving students, hold low expectations for their academic success, and demand little in terms of academic performance.

A sociological analysis of factors contributing to teachers' sense of efficacy is presented in Chapter 8. Ethnographic interviews conducted with 23 high school basic skills teachers and 10 middle and junior high teachers revealed that many teachers may be suffering from status panic, a term used by C. Wright Mills (1951) to indicate the anxiety experienced by achievement-oriented white-collar workers due to the discrepancy between their expectations of prestige, advancement, and rewards and their actual status. Teachers come to their work with aspirations for vertical mobility but find little opportunity for advancement in their chosen profession. The lack of opportunity for advancement, combined with an inadequate salary and the decline of public confidence in education interact to cause status panic in many teachers, a condition contributing to low efficacy attitudes.

In Chapter 9 we analyze classroom observations and interview data from the two middle schools using Glaser and Strauss' (1967) approach to grounded theory. The central social-psychological problem facing teachers identified through this analysis is the establishment and maintenance of a sense of professional self-esteem in a profession characterized by uncertainty and few concrete rewards. To cope with the threats to their self-esteem teachers choose teaching strategies that offer them the most success and the least evidence of failure.

In Chapter 10 our recommendations for future research of teachers' sense of efficacy are discussed. The conditions of teaching in today's society--the uncertainties and the frustrations--place such a tremendous stress on teachers' efficacy beliefs that efforts to support these beliefs will require bold visions of significant transformations in the current context of teaching. Teacher education, teacher socialization practices and teacher-parent relations offer particularly promising areas for research to promote our understanding of ways to foster teachers' sense of efficacy and student achievement. Changes in school organization are needed to enable teachers to maintain their sense of efficacy.

Chapter 2

The Conceptual Framework for the Study of Teachers' Sense of Efficacy

Teachers' sense of efficacy is basic to teacher motivation. Our study of teacher efficacy indicates that the extent to which teachers believe they are capable of influencing student performance affects their enthusiasm and persistence in working with their students and, ultimately, their students' achievement.

In this section, a conceptual framework for the study of teachers' sense of efficacy is described. Based on an ecological perspective (Bronfenbrenner, 1976), the nature and origins of teachers' sense of efficacy will be discussed and factors contributing to the development and maintenance of teachers' sense of efficacy will be considered. The conceptual framework was derived from four major sources:

(1) a review of the research literature dealing with the organizational and social-psychological factors affecting teacher and student behavior;

(2) a comparative study of two middle schools, using survey and ethnographic techniques (for a detailed report, see Chapter 3);

(3) a presage-process-product study of the relationship between teachers' sense of efficacy, teacher and student behavior, and school achievement in 48 high school basic skills communications and mathematics classrooms in four high schools. (See Chapter 5 for a detailed report of methodology and results.)

(4) an analysis of interview and observational data gathered in the middle and high schools, using Glaser and Strauss' grounded theory methodology. (For a detailed report, see Chapters 7, 8 and 9.)

Teachers' Sense of Efficacy: A Multi-dimensional Construct

Our theoretical framework for teachers' sense of efficacy is based on a modification of Albert Bandura's (1977) social learning formulation of sense of self-efficacy as a cognitive mediator of human behavior. As represented in Figure 2, teachers' sense of efficacy is a multi-dimensional construct that is hierarchically organized and reciprocally determined.

The major dimensions of teachers' sense of efficacy are represented in Figure 2 and include first, a general causal belief in action-outcome contingencies; second, a generalized sense of self-efficacy; third, a general belief in teachers' ability to motivate students' and fourth, a specific belief in their own perceived competence in motivating students.

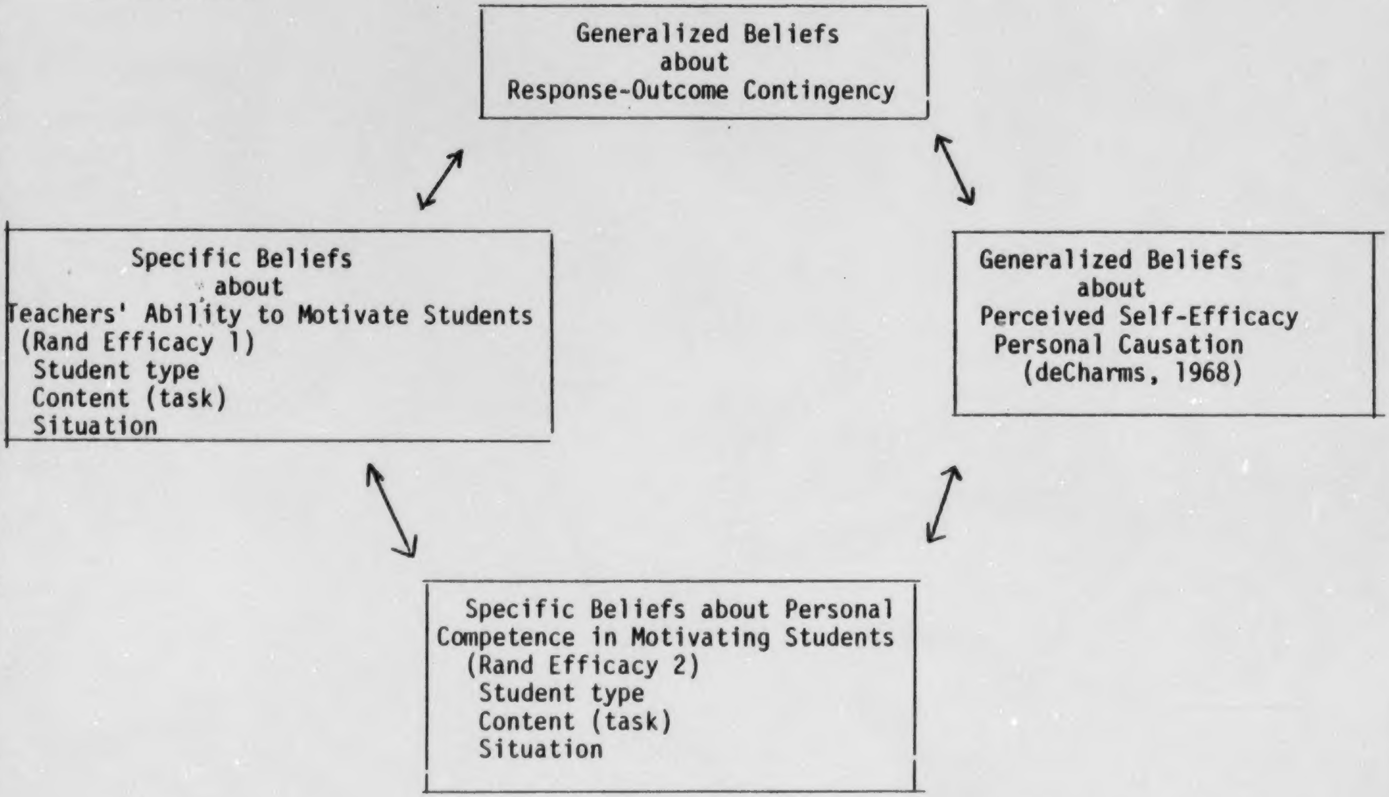
Generalized Beliefs about Response-Outcome Contingency
Specific Beliefs about Teachers' Ability to Motivate Students (Rand Efficacy 1) Student type Content (task) Situation
Generalized Beliefs about Perceived Self-Efficacy Personal Causation (deCharms, 1968)
Specific Beliefs about Personal Competence in Motivating Students (Rand Efficacy 2) Student type Content (task) Situation

Figure 2

Teachers' Sense of Efficacy: The Multi-Dimensional Construct

Developmental and social-psychological research and theory (Bandura, 1977) indicate that through personal life experiences, individuals develop a generalized expectancy of the relationship between action and outcome; thus, teachers enter the profession with individual differences in their generalized expectancy between action and outcome; in addition, through their individual life experiences teachers have developed personal expectations regarding their own ability to influence outcomes. This is equivalent to deCharms' (1968; 1976) sense of personal causation or Bandura's generalized sense of self-efficacy. When specific experience in a given situation is lacking, the teachers' generalized sense of self-efficacy will be a major determinant of behavior. However, with training and experience, teachers develop specific beliefs about the ability of teachers, in general, to motivate different types of students in different types of situations and their own personal ability to motivate students in specific situations. In sum, teachers' sense of efficacy represents their implicit personal theory of student motivation.

As conceived by Bandura and applied in our model, sense of efficacy is a critical construct in understanding motivation, because it influences the nature and extent of behavior, the amount of effort expended and degree of persistence maintained in the face of difficulty. Seligman's learned helplessness theory (Abramson, Seligman & Teasdale, 1978) is helpful in explaining the impact of the various dimensions of teachers' sense of efficacy on teacher behavior (See Figure 3). A low sense of efficacy may be due to the teachers' belief that certain low-achieving students, by virtue of their home environment, cannot be motivated by their teachers. This would be a case of "universal helplessness" in Seligman's terms, the belief that no teacher would be capable of motivating this group of students. Teachers with a sense of "universal helplessness" would exert less effort in motivating difficult students, seeing all effort as inherently futile (a motivational deficit), would be resistant to learning from experiences with low-achieving students that contradict their basic belief (a cognitive deficit) but would maintain their self-esteem, because they would feel no responsibility for being unable to do what no one else could do (no affective deficit). In contrast, the teacher who has a personal sense of helplessness or inefficacy, that is, the teacher who believes that low-achieving students can be motivated to achieve, given an effective teacher, yet feels personally ineffectual with these students, will experience the motivational and cognitive deficits characteristic of a sense of universal helplessness and, in addition, will experience a loss of professional self-esteem, an affective deficit that is likely to be accompanied by high feelings of stress, possibly resulting in hostile, negative interactions with resistant students. An example of personal inefficacy was provided by one of the teachers we interviewed who was deeply troubled by her failure to reach her students:

> Well, I still feel I have the capacity for it. But in some instances I'm not so sure that I care. But other times I care a great deal. Sometimes I feel, what's the use. Teaching can be very frustrating, a very frustrating experience. I'm not going to mince words about it, that's the way I feel. I feel threatened too. I can see where a lot of those classes could be very threatening.

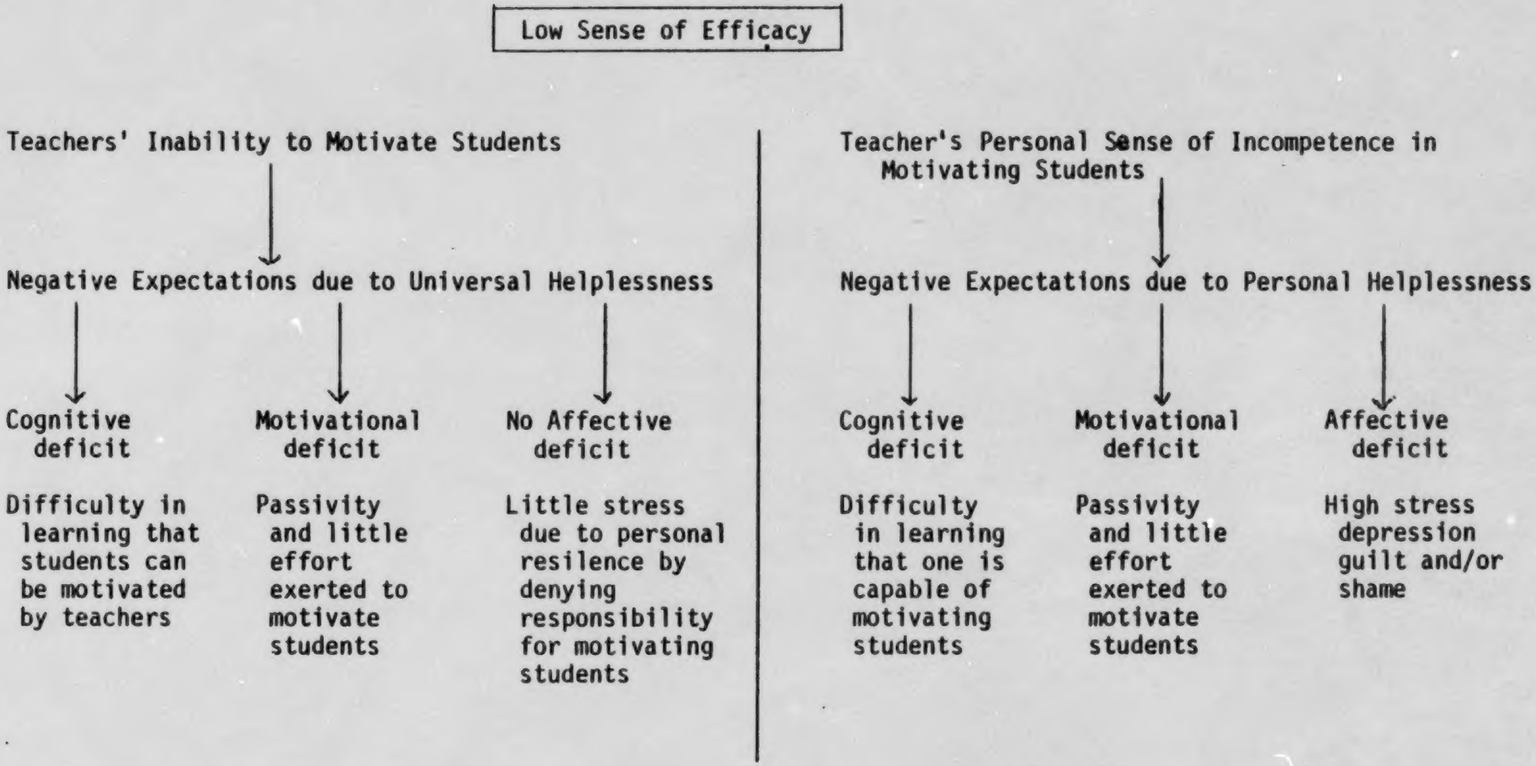
Low Sense of Efficacy
Teachers' Inability to Motivate Students
Negative Expectations due to Universal Helplessness
Cognitive deficit
Difficulty in learning that students can be motivated by teachers
Motivational deficit
Passivity and little effort exerted to motivate students
No Affective deficit
Little stress due to personal resilence by denying responsibility for motivating students
Teacher's Personal Sense of Incompetence in Motivating Students
Negative Expectations due to Personal Helplessness
Cognitive deficit
Difficulty in learning that one is capable of motivating students
Motivational deficit
Passivity and little effort exerted to motivate students
Affective deficit
High stress depression guilt and/or shame

Figure 3

Comparison of Motivational, Cognitive and Affective Outcomes of Low Sense of Efficacy Attributable to Belief in Teachers' Inability to Motivate Students and Teachers' Personal Sense of Incompetence in Motivating Students

In contrast, the low efficacy teacher with a sense of universal helplessness will experience little stress and may be able to maintain enthusiasm through the personal resiliency gained by having low expectations of being able to influence student performance. An example of this type of inefficacy was provided by another teacher who was able to maintain her personal sense of competence and remain untroubled by her inability to reach some students by concluding that they were incapable of learning grammar:

> I don't want to teach grammar, and I told the principal that. In fact, I told him not to assign me to a language arts class again. We argued about it. I said I'm not interested in teaching grammar to illiterates. He said that was because I don't like teaching grammar. But I said, wrong. I love grammar. I'm a whiz at grammar. It's the easiest thing in the world to teach. But these students can't get it, and I don't agree with teaching it to them. . .

Given the distinctive differences between a low sense of efficacy attributable to belief in teachers' inability to motivate students in contrast to a belief in one's personal inability to motivate students, efforts to influence teachers' sense of efficacy must be based on an analysis of the origin of the inefficacy: if it is attributable to the teachers' feelings of personal incompetence a different strategy would be required from the case in which sense of inefficacy is attributable to ideological beliefs about the modifiability of various student types.

Teachers' Sense of Efficacy and Student Achievement

The role of teachers' sense of efficacy in student achievement is suggested from the results of the process-product study that we conducted in the classrooms of 48 high school basic skills communications and mathematics teachers. (See Chapter 5 for a detailed description of this study.) The relationships obtained in that study are indicated by solid black arrows in Figure 4; broken arrows indicate relationships that are postulated in our theoretical framework but were not tested in our basic skills study.

In brief, we found that teachers' sense of efficacy was significantly related to student achievement, as measured by Metropolitan Achievement test scores ($r=.78$, $p<.003$ in mathematics classes and $r=.83$, $p<.02$ in communication classes), with students' entering ability controlled by holding constant the students' scores on the Metropolitan test from the previous year. In addition, teachers' sense of efficacy was related to teacher and student behaviors that suggest that teachers with a high sense of efficacy are more likely to be attentive to the individual needs of all students and to respond to students in a positive, accepting supportive style that encourages student enthusiasm and involvement in decision-making.

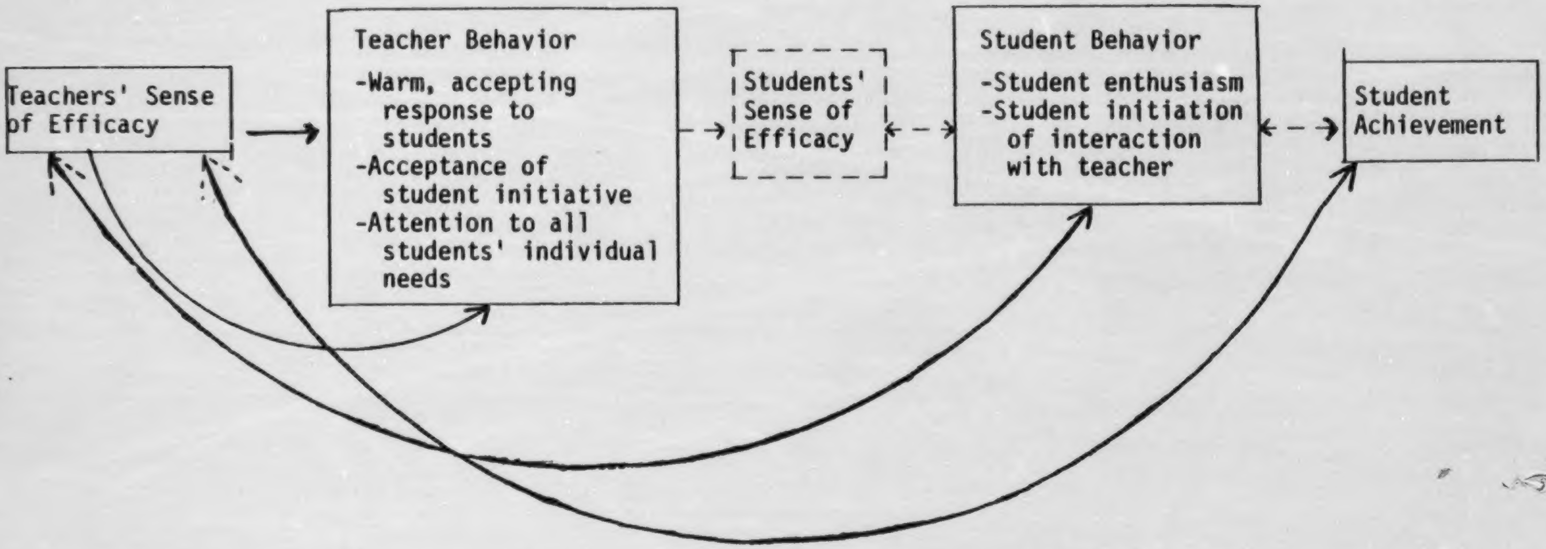
Teachers' Sense of Efficacy
Teacher Behavior
-Warm, accepting response to students
-Acceptance of student initiative
-Attention to all students' individual needs
Students' Sense of Efficacy
Student Behavior
-Student enthusiasm
-Student initiation of interaction with teacher
Student Achievement

Figure 4

Teachers' Sense of Efficacy; The Critical Construct
in a Motivational Model of Teacher Behavior and Student Achievement

An Ecological Perspective on Teachers' Sense of Efficacy

Our research suggests that many variables influence teachers' sense of efficacy and, in turn, are influenced by it. Not only classroom factors, but many other influences, both within and outside of the school, affect teachers' sense of efficacy. For example, the teachers' family relations, social support networks, and community involvement activities are likely to affect their personal sense of efficacy. Interdependencies between school and experiences in other settings must be included to represent the factors affecting teachers' sense of efficacy adequately. Bronfenbrenner's (1976) conception of an ecology of education comprised of a nested arrangement of interrelated systems is useful for structuring our contextual analysis of teachers' sense of efficacy:

(1) The microsystem consists of the teachers' immediate setting, typically the classroom or school;

(2) The mesosystem is comprised of the interrelations among the teachers' major settings: these relations include the principal, colleagues, the school norms, the school organizational structure and authority relations, and the teachers' social support system, including family.

(3) The exosystem refers to the formal and informal social structures that influence the teachers' immediate setting, including the socio-economic level of the community, the nature of the school district, the mass media, the state and national legislative agencies.

(4) The macrosystem consists of the predominant cultural beliefs and ideologies that have an impact on teacher thought and behavior or on the various other systems impinging on teachers.

An important source of information regarding factors that affect teachers' sense of efficacy is teachers' subjective reports of what helps them to feel effective as a teacher and what contributes to feelings of inefficacy. Such a phenomenological analysis can be useful in identifying approaches most likely to increase teachers' sense of efficacy. From our analysis of teachers' responses to such a question we identified a number of factors that seem to be particularly salient for teachers' sense of efficacy. These factors will be discussed in the context of Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems, and research literature supporting the importance of these factors for teachers' sense of efficacy will also be noted.

Microsystem

According to teachers' subjective perceptions, various aspects of their classroom have significant impact on their sense of efficacy. Our

32

conception of sense of efficacy as a situation-specific dynamic is derived in part from our interviews with teachers in which they attributed changes in their sense of efficacy to varying classroom attributes.

Student type. According to teachers' self-report, student type appears to be the most significant class-level variable affecting their sense of efficacy. Brophy and Evertson (1981) documented many of the student attributes that influence teachers' expectations of their effectiveness and their consequent interactions with students. For most teachers, students' ability (Prawat & Jarvis, 1980) appears to be the single most significant student characteristic affecting teachers' sense of efficacy.

Heterogeneous grouping of students may reduce the impact of student type on teachers' sense of efficacy. In a comparison of teachers who taught heterogeneously grouped classes (N=28) with teachers who taught basic skills classes (N=38), we found that the teachers of basic skills classes reported a lower sense of personal efficacy ($t_{64}=1.83$, $p<.05$)

Class size. Teachers are nearly unanimous in citing class size as an important factor in their ability to be effective motivators, and size becomes an even more salient feature for basic skills teachers, because they report that individual attention is much more important for the motivation of low-achieving students than for average and above average students. A recent meta-analysis by Glass and Smith (1979) provides validation of this long-held assumption of teachers, that until now was considered only a subjective perception of teachers. However, the Glass and Smith study indicated that important achievement gains are detectable only when class size is reduced to 15 and below.

Role definitions. Teachers' role definitions are likely to influence their sense of efficacy. For example, one enthusiastic teacher that we interviewed defined her role primarily in terms of socialization aims and expected academic gains to be small; consequently, she was not overly troubled by the fact that her students were not making rapid achievement test gains and did not experience a decline in her professional self-esteem when confronted with basic skills students:

> I was anticipating (basic skills) teaching to be a total disaster. I mean, obviously it wasn't. I turned around and asked for six periods of basic skills for next year. It's hard. It was the hardest . . . they were the hardest two classes I had to teach. That's what I'm saying. That at the beginning I didn't see that they had those behaviors (they needed). They didn't come in on task. I feel like they've made some progress towards that. We're doing much, much better towards the end of the year. I think a lot of it is just what you expect, you know. If you tell the students I expect you to work for an hour, I care so much that you get this, that I want you working for one hour because I know that that's what you need, a lot of them seem to buy that. You know, I care about you. You must, there-

> fore, care about yourself. You surely must care enough. If I am a stranger, and I care this much to make you work, then you must see what I am trying to say to you . . . You know a lot of times that sort of thing seems to work.

In contrast, the first teacher quoted on page 13 defined her role in terms of academic achievement goals and, consequently, was beset with self-doubt as a result of her inability to motivate her students and, further, attributed their difficulties to their moral weakness in an unsuccessful attempt to protect her professional self-esteem.

Our comparison of middle and junior high school teachers indicated sharp contrasts in the role definitions of the teachers in the two schools (see page 39 of this report) and related differences in the way teachers interacted with students. In her comparison of two junior highs, Metz (1978) also reported major differences among teachers in their role definitions, resulting in divergent teaching styles, as well as differences in the way individual teachers defined their roles in relation to different types of students or classes. Other recent research, however, has questioned the impact of teachers' role definitions on teacher behavior. Rohrkemper and Brophy (1980) concluded that teachers' role definitions may be less relevant to teacher behavior than their perceptions of the type of problem they perceive the student to be presenting. In an observational study of three groups of teachers differing in role orientation: teachers who stressed affect, teachers who emphasized cognition, and those who emphasized both, Prawat (1981) concluded that teachers who defined their roles primarily in terms of affective concerns were "no more effective in promoting positive affect in their classrooms than those who emphasized cognitive goals, and both these groups were less effective than the mixed or in-between groups" (pp. 1 and 3). Inasmuch as different role definitions are likely to be associated with different criteria for assessing one's sense of efficacy, further research is needed on the impact of role definition on teachers' sense of efficacy, teacher behavior and student achievement.

Activity structure. Teachers' sense of efficacy is likely to vary with the activity or task. Some teachers perceive themselves to be more effective in large group than small group instruction, for example. Such personal assessments will influence the teachers' choice of future activities, and as a continually expanding literature indicates, choice of activity structure has extremely important implications for student achievement and social development (Bossert, 1979; Carew & Lightfoot, 1979; Cohen, 1979; Johnson & Johnson, 1974; McDermott, 1977; Rosenholtz, 1980).

Mesosystem

Recent research on effective schools (Brookover, Beady, Flood, Schweitzer & Wisenbaker, 1979; Cohen, 1981; Rutter et al., 1979) has emphasized the importance of within school relationships affecting teachers' sense of efficacy. Our study of teachers from two organizationally different middle schools dramatized the difference that school-level factors can have on teachers' sense of efficacy. Our comparison of the attitudes of 29 teachers from a modern middle school with a team organization, multi-age grouping and an exploratory curriculum with 20 teachers from a middle school with departmental organization, traditional age-grade grouping, and a junior-high curriculum revealed important differences between the two schools on a number of mesosystem variables. (See Chapter 3 for details of methodology and analysis.)

School norms. Teachers at the two schools varied significantly in their role perceptions and expectations for students. Teachers at the modern middle school defined their role more often in terms of meeting the affective, socialization needs of their students, and perhaps in part because of their experience with multi-age grouping, were less concerned with ability differences among their students. Their expectations for their students' achievement and improvability were significantly higher than the junior high teachers who had a more fatalistic attitude toward their students' performance.

While our findings are based on correlational data and may only be indicative of initial differences in teachers, they are supportive of other research indicating that school norms can be influential in determining teacher attitudes and behavior. For example, Leacock (1969) described the process by which teachers' low sense of efficacy regarding certain students can become a school pattern, an organizational norm: "There's nothing we can do; these kids can't learn." In such an environment, new teachers are pressured to accept the dominant culture of the school. Thus, for many teachers, maintaining order becomes the ultimate goal (Cohen, 1972) inasmuch as motivating academic achievement is considered an impossible aim , given the students that they are assigned to teach.

Collegial relations. The isolation from colleagues and consequent loneliness characteristic of the teaching profession have been noted by a number of analysts (Jackson, 1968; Lortie, 1975). This aspect of teaching is probably a significant contributor to teacher dissatisfaction inasmuch as teachers are typically high in social needs (Holland, 1973; Super, 1970). The relationship of collegial relationships, however, to sense of efficacy is complex.

In our study, teachers at the modern middle school reported more negative colleague relationships than teachers at the junior high. However, negative colleague relationships do not appear to have a direct negative relationship to efficacy, since teachers' sense of efficacy as well as general job satisfaction were higher at the middle school. It is likely that the expression of negative feelings about some colleagues was a result of the increased contact with colleagues produced by team teaching. At the junior high, teachers rarely worked together and, consequently, had little conflict with other teachers. A number of studies have indicated that conflict among school staff may be indicative of a higher sense of professionalism and productive organizational activity than low levels of conflict (Brookover and Lezotte, 1977; Corwin, 1970).

Decision-making structures. One of the differences between the modern middle school and junior high that may relate to the difference observed in teacher efficacy was the greater involvement in school decision-making afforded teachers by the mechanism of a teacher advisory council comprised of representatives from the various teaching teams. However, this difference may also contribute to development of discordant colleague relations. The designation of team leader created a power differential among teachers that led to conflict. While our sample teachers often expressed the desire for greater participation in decisions, they were typically unable to be specific about the areas and means of involvement. Sarason (1971) and Goodlad (1975) suggest that teachers have become so accustomed to a subordinate role that assuming a greater role in decision-making is not easily accomplished. Teacher decision-making appears to be an important factor contributing to teachers' sense of efficacy, yet our understanding of effective methods of implementation is currently very limited.

Principal Relations. The role of the principal in influencing teacher effectiveness has become a prominent issue as a result of the effective schools research (Cohen, 1981). In our middle school study, the principal appears to set the style and direction of the school. The different role conceptions of teachers were directly related to the principal's conception of the teacher's role. While this may be due primarily to the administrator's initial selection bias in hiring teachers, further research into the process of principal influence on teachers' role perceptions seems warranted.

Another aspect of the principal's role that has implications for teachers' sense of efficacy is the principal's control over the scarce rewards and perquisites of teaching. The principal or his designate has some power to reduce teaching load, class size, provide equipment and material and other support services. The way the principal chooses to allocate resources is likely to have a significant effect on teachers' sense of efficacy. Our study shows teachers frequently commented on their perceptions of how equitably the principal distributed scarce resources.

Exosystem

Nature of the school district. Our interviews with teachers took place during a very disruptive period in management-labor relations in the district. Teachers had expected a raise based on state legislative allocations, but the raise was denied them by administrative decisions at the district level. The impact of this action on teachers' sense of efficacy was evident. Many teachers were very vocal about their loss of motivation and their decision to reduce their efforts with students in the aftermath of the salary decision. Other studies have noted the impact of district-level decisions on the stress and effectiveness of teachers (Bidwell and Kasarda, 1975; Cichon and Koff, 1978; Cohen, 1976).

Macrosystem

A number of our basic cultural beliefs have important implications for teachers' sense of efficacy, among these are our conceptions of the nature of the learner and the role of the teacher. Another important influence is the cultural expectations regarding the role of education in society.

Conceptions of the Learner. While teachers that we interviewed were able to identify and describe many of the factors that enable them to be effective motivators of students, perhaps the most powerful influence is the subtle and covert conception of the learner conveyed in American cultural beliefs. As teachers talk about their students, it is evident that responsibility for success and failure is laid squarely on the student, as demonstrated in the distribution of teachers' responses to two questions that we posed asking them to what did they attribute their students' success and failure. See Table 1. Teachers overwhelmingly attributed both success and failure to student characteristics. In the minds of most teachers, students fail to achieve either because they are inherently unable or because they have willfully decided not to achieve. Either of these conclusions is likely to reduce teachers' efforts to motivate these students. According to Michael Lewis (1978), the tendency to blame poor students for their plight is deeply engrained in our culture. It is the mechanism by which those more fortunate economically are able to maintain their sense of self-worth. Lewis' thesis, applied to the context of the classroom, yields insight into the psychology of the teacher. By blaming students for their own failure either because of weaknesses of character, that is, laziness, lack of motivation and apathy, or lack of innate ability, the teacher is freed from the heavy burden of being, in some sense, responsible for students' failure. Caught up in the self-protective strategy of "blaming the victim" to preserve their sense of professional self-worth (Ryan, 1976), teachers fail to recognize the self-protective strategies at work among many failing students. For the low achiever, effort becomes a "double-edged sword" because to try and fail provides incontrovertible evidence of their low ability (Covington and Omelich, 1981). As long as they do not try, they do not have to face the implications that low ability has for their fragile sense of self-worth.

More capable others refuse to work, because they anticipate the futility of their efforts; perceiving themselves doomed by race and/or poverty to a limited future, they refuse to be co-opted by a hostile system and attempt to rise above it by means of an open rebellion against the norms and expectations of the system (Metz, 1978). As pointed out by Metz, for many low-achieving males high status in their peer group is negatively related to academic effort and classroom cooperation. Thus, students who choose to exert academic effort risk not only academic failure but loss of social status as well. Given the importance of social status among students, the choice of social status over academic success is not a difficult one for most (Bidwell, 1965).

Table 1

Frequency and Percentage of Teachers' Attributions of Success and Failure to Self, Student, and to Self and Student Jointly

	Self	Student	Self-Student Jointly
Attribution of success	4 6%	42 70%	14 23%
Attribution of failure	6 10%	40 67%	12 20%

As Bloom (1978) and Sarason (1971) have pointed out, psychology has lent support to the cultural beliefs that conceive of learning ability as a highly stable trait varying widely among individuals; and educational research, most notably through the Coleman Report (1966), has in recent years contributed to the societal expectation that home environment, not schooling, is the critical factor in determining achievement. Thus, when new teachers emerge from educational institutions determined to reach every student and meet with resistance, they have culture and social science to support their contention that they should not be held responsible. As Rist (1978) concluded in his book, The Invisible Children, the tragedy of this ready defense is it frees teachers, and the teacher education profession as well, from having to face the realization that they may not possess the knowledge and skills necessary for motivating some students. Without an admission of this inadequacy, no effort is made to discover more effective strategies, and thousands of teachers simply learn to live with a low sense of efficacy and accept complacently the fact of student failure.

Conclusion

Our outline of the theoretical framework of teachers' sense of efficacy and the system of interrelationships impinging on it inevitably oversimplifies the complexity of the dynamics involved. Teachers' sense of efficacy provides a powerful focus for directing research and development efforts, because of the implications it has for student and teacher development; the complexity of the many variables involved cannot be overemphasized. Research designed to investigate the complex interactions and interdependencies among these variables is needed to begin to identify the more important contributors to teachers' sense of efficacy and effective means of increasing it.

Teachers' sense of efficacy is an important factor in teacher motivation, but it must be recognized that other factors, for example, the personal value and commitment that teaching holds for teachers, will influence their effort as well as the incentives they feel they derive from the profession. This can be demonstrated clearly in our data in that teachers' sense of efficacy is generally not significantly related to teachers' overall rating of job satisfaction or experience of stress, or desire to choose teaching as a career, given the opportunity to choose again. Thus, while teachers' sense of efficacy, as defined by the Rand questions, has significant implications for the achievement test performance of students, it is probably only indirectly implicated in the broader question of teacher job satisfaction. Our data suggest that salary and work load and lack of public support and respect are probably the more important determinants of teachers leaving the profession.

Chapter 3

The Middle School Teacher Efficacy Study

Introduction

The purpose of the middle school phase of the Teacher Efficacy Study was to begin to elaborate the conceptual framework for future study of teachers' sense of efficacy by examining the relationship of school organizational structure and teachers' sense of efficacy. Guided by the ecological perspective (Bronfenbrenner, 1976), we identified three major objectives for the initial phase of the Teacher Efficacy Study:

(1) to investigate teachers' subjective perceptions of their teaching effectiveness and the factors that facilitate and inhibit their sense of efficacy, through the use of open-ended questions;

(2) to search for relationships between teacher efficacy as measured by the Rand items (see page 1 of this report) and a variety of school and teacher characteristics believed to be related to teacher efficacy: a) school organizational differences, b) teacher job satisfaction, c) teacher emphasis (i.e., subject matter or interpersonal relationships), d) teacher stress, e) teacher sense of freedom, f) teachers' preference for a particular student type, g) teacher attributions for student failure, h) school climate, and i) collegial relationships; a fixed alternative questionnaire was designed to investigate these relationships;

(3) to explore the school organizational factors contributing to teacher's sense of efficacy through a microethnographic study of teacher attitudes in two organizationally different schools.

For each of the three objectives, a different methodology was utilized. The use of the three different approaches (a type of triangulation) was selected in an effort to increase the validity of our conclusions by seeking convergent results emerging across the three methodologies (Denzin, 1970).

Since this study was an attempt to understand how organizationally different schools shape characteristic patterns of teacher thought and behavior related to their sense of efficacy, two middle schools with major organizational differences were selected: a school having a modern middle school organization and a school having a traditional junior high organization. Specifically, the two schools differed on the following dimensions:

1. Interdisciplinary team versus department organization. In the middle school, teachers and students are assigned to a team with four or more teachers, representing different subject areas, serving a common group of 120-170 students. Teachers and students on a team have neighboring classrooms and share the same part of the school plant and a similar daily schedule. Teachers frequently plan their instruction on a common theme for which there is interdisciplinary planning. In addition, there is team decision-making regarding the students they share and their curriculum needs. In the junior high, teachers in the same department meet periodically for curriculum planning. Classrooms are located in proximity by department; for example, all sixth grade history teachers in the same wing, so that teachers who teach the same students are rarely in close proximity.

2. Multi-age versus single-age grouping: In the middle school, students remain with the same team of four teachers for three years and are assigned to one of these four teachers as their homeroom teacher and adviser for the duration of three years. All classes for the three years are taken with the same teachers. Thus, in each class there will be students at three age levels equivalent to grades six, seven, and eight. In a math class, for example, of 24 students, eight would be in the first year of middle school, eight would be in their second year, and eight in their third year. In the junior high, students are grouped by chronological age and the number of years in the school.

3. Adviser-Advisee Program versus Homeroom: In the middle school, multi-age groups of about 24 students are assigned a Teacher-Adviser with whom they meet daily for a 25-minute class. In the junior high, the first five minutes of every first period class is called homeroom and is used for an attendance check.

In order to highlight the organizational differences in this study, the two schools selected were as similar as possible in other areas, including size, racial and socioeconomic distribution of the student population and the school community. The specific organizational differences between the two schools are described in detail in Appendix A.

Research Participants

Teachers at the two schools were asked to spend two hours completing a questionnaire (see Appendix B) designed to investigate their perceptions of teaching. They were paid $10 each for their contribution to the study. Approximately half of the teachers at each school completed the questionnaire (n=29 at Middle School and n=20 at Junior High). The sample consisted of 35 white female, 5 white male, 7 black female, and 2 black male teachers. Their ages ranged from the early twenties to late fifties, with the majority between the ages of 25 and 35. Since the return rate of the questionnaire was similar at the two schools, it was assumed that the samples were probably equivalent; however, generalizations are limited in that teacher participation was voluntary.

41

SCHOOL ORGANIZATION AND EFFICACY: OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS

The major intent of the questionnaire was to engage teachers in defining the nature of their sense of efficacy through direct questions about their teaching effectiveness. In this section, results of the open-ended items from the questionnaire are presented. For these items, teachers' responses were typed individually on note cards and sorted into groups of similar responses; these groups were then identified according to common characteristics and frequency counts obtained.

To explore teachers' perceptions of the types of situations in which they are likely to feel effective and ineffective and the factors that facilitate and inhibit their effectiveness, several different questions were posed. A "Teaching Incidents Essay" was obtained from the teachers describing their most and least effective teaching experiences. The purpose of this item was to require the teachers to provide concrete instances in which their feelings of efficacy were dramatically illuminated. In this way, we hoped to be able to specify what types of situations are likely to be perceived as effective and ineffective teaching and to what teachers attribute their success and failure.

The directions for the "Teaching Incidents Essay" were worded as follows:

> Describe one incident from your teaching experience in which you feel you were most effective.

First Describe the situation as it occurred at the time.

Second What did you do in the situation?

Third How did you feel about the situation at the time you were experiencing it?

Fourth Describe what you feel enabled you to be effective in this situation.

> Describe one incident from your teaching experience in which you feel you were least effective.

First Describe the situation as it occurred at the time.

Second What did you do in the situation?

Third How did you feel about the situation at the time you were experiencing it?

Fourth Describe what you feel contributed to your ineffectiveness in this situation.

Fifth How would you respond differently now, given a similar situation?

The Effective Situation

Teacher descriptions of the situation in which they felt most effective were categorized, and the frequency of occurrence of the categories was calculated for the teachers in the two schools. The results are reported in Table 2. Teachers' descriptions of their most effective teaching situation focused on one of three categories: (1) a teaching situation, (2) work with a single student or group of students, or (3) a particularly effective, organizational structure. Overall, the largest number of responses (40%) focused on the successful teaching of academic subject matter. However, a substantial proportion (44%) of Junior High teachers described situations which required handling of difficult students; this situation was mentioned less frequently by Middle School teachers (24%). Also, 25% of the responses from Middle School teachers focused on situations related to the structural organization of the school, specifically, a team taught lesson and multi-age, multi-level grouping, or individualized instruction.

The teachers' responses to the first question of the Critical Incidents Essay suggest that teachers differ in terms of their focus when evaluating their own effectiveness. While the majority of teachers define their effectiveness in terms of their success in teaching an academic lesson, a significant proportion of teachers define their effectiveness in terms of coping with the problems of students, while another group of teachers focus on the nature of the classroom structure, defining effectiveness in terms of context. In addition, the organizational structure of the school appears to affect teachers' orientation in defining their effectiveness. Teachers at the Junior High were more likely to focus on the handling of difficult students in their assessment of their own effectiveness while teachers at the Middle School tended to focus less on handling students and more on teaching of subject matter.

The Ineffective Situation

In contrast to the effective situation, teacher descriptions of situations in which they experienced their least effective teaching focused predominantly on students with some type of problem, either behavioral or academic (59%) rather than on difficulties in teaching subject matter (20%) (See Table 3). Junior High teachers were more likely to cite a situation involving a group of difficult students (47% compared to 22% at the Middle School), while Middle School teachers were more likely to describe a situation involving a single student with a problem (33% compared to 16% at the Junior High).

These data suggest that teachers' sense of inefficacy is more likely to be due to problems in coping with student behavior than in teaching academic content. It is informative, also, to note that only a few teachers referred to school organization or lack of materials as an important element in the description of the teaching situation in which they felt most ineffective. Thus, teachers seem to perceive that their problems in teaching are primarily problems in handling students with difficulties.

Table 2

Efficacy Situations

Focus	Middle School		Junior High		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Teaching	12	50	7	39	19	45
Teaching of academic subject matter	10	42	7	39	17	40
Teaching an affective lesson	2	8	0	0	2	5
Student	6	24	8	44	14	33
Difficult students	2	8	4	22	6	14
Individual work with single student with problem:						
Academic problem	2	8	2	11	4	10
Behavioral problem	2	8	2	11	4	10
Organization	6	25	3	18	9	22
Individualized classroom	1	4	1	6	2	5
Team taught lesson	4	17	1	6	5	12
Multi-age, multi-level groups	1	4	1	6	2	5
TOTAL RESPONSES	24		18		42	

Table 3

Inefficacy Situations

Focus	Middle School		Junior High		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Problem with students	15	55	12	63	27	59
Difficult group of students	6	22	9	47	15	33
Single student with problem	9	33	3	16	12	26
Teaching of academic subject matter	5	19	4	21	9	20
School organization problems	4	15	3	16	7	15
Equipment and material problems	3	11	0	0	3	7
TOTAL RESPONSES	27		19		46	

Factors Contributing to Teacher Efficacy

In response to the question regarding what they felt contributed to their effectiveness in the situation in which they felt most effective as a teacher, the teachers overwhelmingly attributed their success to their own personal characteristics or behaviors (69% of the responses were of this type). Personal characteristics, such as creativity, flexibility, enthusiasm, and interpersonal skills, were mentioned most often by Middle School teachers, while effective teaching behavior (e.g., giving students responsibility for their own learning and knowing how to motivate) was mentioned most often by Junior High teachers (See Table 4). Student characteristics, the nature of the learning activity, and organizational factors were also mentioned as influencing their effectiveness, but these factors were mentioned relatively infrequently when compared with the number of responses citing teacher personality and teaching behaviors.

Factors Contributing to Teacher Inefficacy

Table 5 reports teacher perceptions regarding the factors contributing to their ineffectiveness in the situation in which they felt most ineffective as a teacher. Consistent with the findings indicating that teachers attribute their effectiveness to their own personal traits and skills, the majority of teachers attributed their ineffectiveness to personal inadequacies (63% of the teachers' responses were of this type). Middle School teachers were more likely to attribute their ineffectiveness to organizational factors than the Junior High teachers (27% compared to 15%), while Junior High teachers were more likely to attribute their ineffectiveness to students than were the Middle School teachers (18% for the Junior High teachers in contrast to 9% for the Middle School teachers).

Facilitators and Inhibitors of Efficacy

Bronfenbrenner (1976) emphasized the importance of assessing the effect of environmental forces as a critical aspect in analyses of a system. Rayder, Larson, and Abrams (1977) reported that a number of environmental forces identified by teachers as affecting their classrooms were related to third graders' achievement test scores, the most salient of these being perceived administrative support. To identify factors that teachers in our sample perceived as influencing their effectiveness, the following item was adapted from Fox et al. (1970):

> Many things are likely to affect one's effectiveness as a Middle School teacher, and these things are likely to be different for different teachers. For yourself personally, think about what helps you to be an effective teacher and

Table 4

Factors Contributing to Teacher Efficacy

Focus	Middle School		Junior High		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Teacher Characteristics	25	45	9	31	34	40
Teacher Behaviors	12	21	13	45	25	29
Student Characteristics	9	16	3	10	12	14
Organizational Factors	5	9	2	7	7	8
Nature of the Learning Activity	4	7	2	7	6	7
Parents	1	2	0	0	1	1

Table 5

Factors Contributing to Teacher Inefficacy

Focus	Middle School #	Middle School %	Junior High #	Junior High %	Total #	Total %
Teacher Characteristics	19	42	13	39	32	41
Lack of interpersonal skills	3		1		4	
Lack of knowledge	7		3		10	
Lack of experience	4		4		8	
Lack of enthusiasm	2		2		4	
Frustration	2		0		2	
Expectations	1		3		4	
Ineffective Teachers Behaviors	9	20	8	24	17	22
Organizational Factors	11	27	5	15	16	22
Time	1		0		1	
Teacher Student ratio	4		0		4	
Too many preparations	1		0		1	
Absence of school suspension	1		0		1	
Lack of help from other teachers	2		1		3	
Lack of materials	1		0		1	
Too many student ability levels	1		2		3	
Lack of administrative support	0		1		1	
Lack of administrative discipline	0		1		1	
Students	4	9	6	18	10	13
Parents	1	2	1	3	2	3

> what makes it difficult to be effective as a teacher. List everything that you can think of that helps you to be effective in the classroom. Then list everything that you can think of that makes it difficult for you to be effective.
>
> My Effectiveness as a Middle School Teacher

Is facilitated by:	Is made difficult by:
____________________	____________________
____________________	____________________
____________________	____________________
____________________	____________________
____________________	____________________
____________________	____________________

Teachers' responses to this item were largely unexpected. The item was included in an effort to elicit in an unstructured way the environmental factors that facilitate and detract from effective teaching. It was surprising to find that overall the most frequent response to the question of facilitators of effectiveness was in terms of teachers' personal characteristics (44%). There was some evidence of a differential effect related to school organizational differences, however. Middle School teachers were more likely to cite system support factors (46%) as facilitators of teaching than their own personal characteristics (41%), while Junior High teachers were more likely to mention personal traits (49% compared to 38% for system support factors). In addition, a greater percentage of Middle School teachers (46%) identified system support factors as contributing to their effectiveness than did Junior High teachers (38%) who were more likely to cite their own personal characteristics as facilitating their effectiveness. Eleven percent of the total responses from Middle School teachers cited characteristics specific to their particular school structure (i.e., teams, multi-age groups, advisor-advisee program). See Table 6.

The factors that teachers identified as making it difficult to be a good teacher provide an interesting contrast to the factors cited as facilitative of effective teaching. These results appear in Table 7. Teachers' own personal characteristics were only rarely cited as inhibiting effective teaching (10% of the total response). Lack of system support was seen as the major contributor to ineffective teaching in both the Middle School and the Junior High (51% of the teachers' responses), and student characteristics were seen as the second most influential factor contributing to ineffective teaching (30% of the total responses). The teachers in the two schools were very similar in their perceptions of what makes it difficult to teach effectively.

Table 6

Facilitators of Efficacy

Focus	Middle School		Junior High		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Teacher Characteristics	74	41	54	49	128	44
Personality	25	14	20	18	45	15
Skills	13	7	10	9	23	7
Knowledge	10	6	8	7	18	6
Attitudes	9	5	8	7	17	6
Training	4	2	1	.1	2	.6
Beliefs	2	1	0	0	2	.6
Experience	3	1	4	4	7	2
Personal Life	8	4	3	3	11	3
System Support	83	46	40	38	123	42
Administration	12	7	10	9	22	8
Supportive Staff	13	7	5	5	18	6
Materials	11	6	10	9	21	7
Teams	10	6	0	0	10	3
Small classes	5	3	2	2	7	2
Planning time	4	2	0	0	4	1
Aide	4	2	2	2	6	2
Good facilities	9	5	9	9	18	6
School philosophy	2	1	0	0	2	.6
Same students/3 years	2	1	0	0	2	.6
Multi-age grouping	3	2	0	0	3	1
Advisor/Advisee Program	4	2	0	0	4	1
Workshops	0	0	2	2	2	.6
Counselors	2	1	0	0	2	.6
Media Center	2	1	0	0	2	.6
Students	15	8	11	10	26	9
Parent Support	8	4	5	5	13	4

Table 7

Inhibitors of Efficacy

Focus	Middle School		Junior High		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Lack of System Support	65	51	58	52	123	51
Poor administrators	0	0	6	5	6	3
Poor coworkers	9	7	3	3	12	5
Paperwork	9	7	8	7	17	7
Too much work/Too little time	6	5	7	6	13	5
County	4	3	0	0	4	2
Lack of planning time	6	5	7	6	13	5
Too many students	7	5	8	7	15	6
Lack of materials	3	2	8	7	11	5
Interruptions, distractions	4	3	2	2	6	3
Poor facilities	8	6	5	4	13	5
Poor pay	3	2	4	4	7	3
Bureaucracy	2	2	0	0	2	1
Lack of recognition	4	3	0	0	4	2
Students	33	26	38	34	71	30
Behavior	14	11	15	13	29	12
Lack of Motivation	7	5	11	10	18	8
Lack of Supplies	1	1	1	1	2	1
Low achievement	2	2	0	0	2	1
Reading level	2	2	1	1	3	1
Not responsible	2	2	0	0	2	1
Personal problems	1	1	1	1	2	1
SES	1	1	1	1	2	1
Ability level	1	1	4	4	5	2
Illiterate	0	0	2	2	2	1
Other	2	2	2	2	4	2
Teacher Characteristics	14	11	9	8	23	10
Lack of Parent Support	16	12	7	6	23	10

Teacher Role Perceptions

In conceptualizing teachers' sense of efficacy, it is imperative to consider teachers' perceptions of their responsibilities. Teachers' sense of efficacy assumes meaning in terms of the roles in which teachers perceive themselves. For example, if a teacher assumes that her major responsibility is to impart subject matter she is likely to have a different criterion of effectiveness than the teacher who perceives her major role as helping each child develop a sense of self-worth. To examine the range of responsibilities that teachers accept as part of their role as teachers, the following questions adapted from Fox (1970) were used to explore the variability in teachers' perceptions of their job:

> All of us have certain things about our own role performance which we think are important. There are ten numbered blanks on the page below. In the blanks, please write ten adjectives or short descriptive phrases, each referring to the simple statement, "As a middle school teacher, I do the following things."
>
> Answer as if you were giving the answers to yourself, not to somebody else. Write the answers in the order that they occur to you. We are interested in both positive and negative aspects. Don't worry about logic but try to be as clear as possible. Write each descriptive word or phrase as rapidly as possible. Your first impressions are good enough.
>
> AS A MIDDLE SCHOOL TEACHER I DO THE FOLLOWING THINGS:
>
> ____
>
> ____
>
> ____
>
> ____
>
> ____

The teachers' responses to this question were sorted and categorized; the frequencies with which the responses occurred are reported for Middle School and Junior High in Table 8. The results were surprising in that there was a great deal of variety in the teachers' responses, and traditionally accepted role responsibilities, like evaluation and design of curriculum, were relatively uncommon responses. The most frequent response occurring in 51 percent of the questionnaires was a reference to classroom management. The second most frequent response was instruction or helping students learn subject matter, while experiencing positive and negative affect were the next most common responses of the teachers. Other role responsibilities mentioned by at least one-third of the sample were motivate, plan, help students emotionally, and listen.

Table 8

Teacher Role Perception Categories

Categories	Middle School #	Middle School %	Junior High #	Junior High %	Total #	Total %
Manage Classroom	14	48	11	38	25	51
Instruct/Help students learn subject matter	11	38	13	65	24	49
Experience positive affect	14	48	8	40	22	45
Experience negative affect	12	41	9	45	21	43
Motivate	10	34	9	45	19	39
Plan	11	38	7	35	18	38
Help students emotionally	12	41	6	30	18	36
Listen	12	41	5	25	17	35
Adapt teaching to students' ability/individualize	5	17	10	50	15	31
Grade (evaluate)	9	31	4	20	13	27
Work with colleagues	8	28	4	20	12	24
Understand	8	28	4	20	12	24
Establish personal relationship with students	12	41	0	0	12	24
Care	8	28	3	15	11	22
Work with parents	5	17	6	30	11	22
Work hard	9	31	1	5	10	20
Talk	4	14	3	15	7	14
Teach responsibility	4	14	3	15	7	14
Keep records	3	10	4	20	7	14
Act as a role model	7	24	0	0	7	14
Help students learn social skills	2	6	4	20	6	12

Of greatest interest are the responses distinguishing the two schools. Divergent emphases emerge from a comparison of the teachers' responses: teachers at Middle School clearly place a greater emphasis on interpersonal interaction with students; e.g., 41% of the Middle School teachers mentioned "establishing personal relationships with students," while this response did not occur at all among teachers at Junior High. Twenty-four percent of the Middle School teachers cited "Act as a role model," while this response never occurred in the responses of the Junior High teachers. Care was mentioned by 28% of the Middle School teachers and by 15% of the teachers at Junior High. In contrast, 65% at Junior High responded, "instructs or helps students learn subject matter" in comparison with only 38% of Middle School teachers. Another interesting difference was that only 7% of the Middle School teachers mentioned "adapt teaching to students' ability level" compared to 35% at Junior High. This finding is intriguing, because structural differences in the schools, specifically, multi-age grouping at Middle School, suggest that adapting teaching to ability level would be a more pervasive problem at Middle School, yet teachers there are apparently not as concerned with this responsibility as teachers at Junior High. Of interest also is Middle School's high percentage (31%) of teachers who responded that they "work hard" in comparison with only 5% of the Junior High teachers.

Summary and Implications for Teachers' Sense of Efficacy

The analysis of the teachers' responses to the open-ended items of the questionnaire indicated teachers differed in terms of their focus when they evaluated their own effectiveness. The majority of teachers focused on the teaching of subject matter, but about a third focused on working effectively with a student or students with special problems. Teachers at the Junior High were more likely to focus on students in defining their effectiveness than were the Middle School teachers. The reason for school and teacher differences in the focus for evaluating teaching effectiveness is an important question that needs examination to increase our understanding of teachers' perceptions of their sense of efficacy.

When teachers were asked to describe the teaching situation in which they felt most ineffective, they focused primarily on their inability to cope with a difficult student or students. Asked about the factors contributing to their effectiveness and ineffectiveness in the specific situations in which they considered themselves most and least effective, most teachers attributed both their success and their failure to their own personal characteristics, with a relatively small minority attributing their ineffectiveness to school organizational factors or students. On the surface, this result seems to conflict with the teachers' responses to the more general question of facilitators and inhibitors of effectiveness. While the teachers did tend to respond with personal characteristics to the question of facilitators, they responded primarily with system characteristics when asked to list factors contributing to their ineffectiveness. The teachers' emphasis on the importance of their own personal characteristics in determining their teaching effectiveness is especially informative regarding teachers' perceptions of teaching effectiveness, since this particular item was selected for inclusion in the questionnaire because it was assumed that it was asking teachers to identify environmental or system factors influencing effectiveness. The fact that the majority of teachers responded with personal characteristics rather than environmental factors on the question of facilitators but not on the question of inhibitors raises an important question for the conceptualization of teachers' sense of efficacy. It suggests the possibility of the need for a two-factor theory of teachers' sense of efficacy similar to Herzberg's two-factor theory of job satisfaction (Herzberg, 1966; Herzberg, Mausner, & Snyderman, 1959).

From responses from accountants and engineers, Herzberg concluded that the factors contributing to job satisfaction differed from the factors accounting for job dissatisfaction. Workers reported feeling satisfaction as a result of achievement, recognition, responsibility, advancement, and other aspects of the job that related to the nature of the work itself, while job dissatisfaction arose from negative aspects of the work environment, for example, salary, working conditions, administrators, and administration policy and relationships with supervisors. Absence of the dissatisfiers did not insure job satisfaction, only the absence of job dissatisfaction. Presence of specific satisfiers was essential for feelings of job satisfaction.

Similarly, the teachers in our sample typically mentioned environmental factors, for example, administrators, lack of materials, poor facilities, students, as contributing to feelings of inefficacy, and only rarely mentioned personal characteristics, while a majority of the teachers referred to aspects of personal competence as facilitating their effectiveness. Herzberg argued for the presence of two independent dimensions of job satisfaction and job dissatisfaction. The data obtained from teachers in this study suggest that efficacy may need to be conceptualized in a similar fashion; that is, efforts to increase job satisfaction by influencing the "dissatisfiers," e.g., smaller classes, better administrator-teacher relations, fewer interruptions, will not in themselves increase feelings of effectiveness; only as teachers experience greater success in the classroom and greater personal effectiveness will their feelings of efficacy improve. Reducing the dissatisfiers, and thus relieving debilitating frustration and stress, may have the indirect effect of providing the opportunity for teachers to experience a greater sense of personal competence.

This interpretation is useful also in explaining the observation that teachers focused on student problems when asked about the situation in which they felt most ineffective. According to a two-factor theory of teachers' sense of efficacy, teachers would experience a sense of inefficacy when confronted with students they felt they could not influence or with difficult system constraints, large classes, excessive paperwork, lack of materials, etc., but, given positive system supports and "good" students, they would not feel effective unless they felt success in achieving academic goals.

In our comparison of role perceptions of teachers at the Middle School with those of the Junior High teachers, the school differences were dramatic. Middle School teachers were much more likely to refer to affective concerns, "establishing a personal relationship, listening, helping students emotionally, caring, acting as a role model," than Junior High teachers who focused predominantly on the role of "instructor of subject matter." This difference suggests that schools may vary significantly in terms of their teachers' perceptions of role responsibilities, and, consequently, differ in the dimensions in terms of which teachers evaluate their efficacy. It appears that teachers at the Middle School in this study feel a greater press to evaluate themselves in terms of their effectiveness at establishing personal relationships with students than teachers at the Junior High, which may account for the fact that many more teachers at the Middle School feel they "work hard" in comparison to teachers at the Junior High. At the Middle School there seems to be a powerful school norm emphasizing affective objectives which is not present at the Junior High. The school culture provides a context within which the teacher evaluates personal competence. Consequently, teachers at Middle School would be more likely to consider their competence in achieving affective goals with students when they consider their sense of efficacy than teachers at the Junior High. Thus, in attempting to understand teachers' sense of efficacy and the factors influencing it, it is important to consider the impact of the school culture and the teacher competencies that are particularly valued at the school in order to understand the dimensions on which teachers base their sense of efficacy. The results of this study provide evidence of the variability among teachers in the roles they consider integral to the position of teacher and the differences that different schools ascribe to various roles; thus, the context in which teachers evaluate themselves will be crucial to their judgments.

Teacher Stress

Teacher stress and burnout have been prominent topics in discussion of teaching in recent years. Kyriacou (Kyriacou & Sutcliffe, 1977) defined teacher stress as

> a response by a teacher of negative affect (such as anger, anxiety, or depression) accompanied by potentially pathogenic physiological changes (such as increased heart rate, or release of adrenocorticotrophic hormone into the bloodstream) as a result of the demands made upon the teacher in his role as a teacher. (p. 299)

A number of factors have been identified as contributing to teacher stress:

> (1) the degree of role conflict or role ambiguity involved,
> (2) the degree to which the teacher perceives that he is unable to meet the demands made upon him,
> (3) the degree to which the teacher's ability to meet the demands is impaired by poor working conditions,
> (4) the degree to which the demands are new or unfamiliar, and
> (5) the degree to which the teacher is already experiencing stress resulting from sources outside his role as a teacher. (Kyriacou & Sutcliffe, 1977, p. 299)

The second factor, "the degree to which the teacher perceives that he is unable to meet the demands made upon him," seems to be conceptually similar to teachers' sense of inefficacy. Thus, it is reasonable to propose that teachers' sense of efficacy affects teacher stress. To the extent that teachers feel confident that they are having a positive impact on student learning, teacher stress should be reduced. However, the evidence indicating other factors, for example, inadequate salary and excessive clerical work (McLaughlin & Shea, 1960; Rudd & Wiseman, 1962),also contribute to teacher stress suggests that teachers' sense of efficacy is not the sole determinant of teacher stress.

In addition, the effect is likely to be reciprocal. In as much as emotional arousal can affect self-efficacy, as evidenced by Bandura's (1977) research; a negative emotional state, that is, teacher stress, attributable to environmental factors, will eventually affect the teachers' sense of personal competence. For example, teachers may begin to feel, "How effective can I be when I am paid so poorly?" or "How can I be effective when I'm given such large classes to teach?" or "Since the principal never acknowledges my effectiveness, I must not be very effective."

Evidence suggests that a large proportion of teachers are disillusioned with teaching; for example, Sparks (1979) reported that 46% of the teachers he questioned were dissatisfied with teaching and would not choose it as a career, if they had it to do over again. Inability to deal with the stresses that teaching imposes is likely to be a major contributor to this dissatisfaction on the part of many teachers. Thus, stress is certain to be an important variable to be considered among the factors contributing to a teacher's sense of efficacy.

To explore the sources of stress in teaching and teachers' methods of coping, we asked teachers to complete the following two items:

I feel excessive stress as a teacher when ___________________

People have a variety of approaches to dealing with stress.
Describe what you do when you feel stress from teaching.

____

____

Like Lortie (1975), we found that "troublesome students" (consisting of 37% of the stresses identified by the sample of teachers) and "time pressures" (24%) were the greatest stresses for teachers (See Table 9). However, school differences in the extent to which students were reported as "stressors" are notable. Only 28% of Middle School teachers' responses identified students as a source of stress compared to 52% of Junior High teachers. Even more interesting is the fact that only 7% of the Middle School teachers mentioned unmotivated students as a stressor in contrast to 24% of the Junior High teacher responses.

Teachers were very similar in their responses to the second item. (See Table 10). However, Junior High teachers were somewhat more likely to respond that they get upset or accept the situation (20% of the Junior High teachers compared to 6% of the Middle School teachers), while the Middle School teachers were more likely to respond that they try to solve the problem (3% of the Junior High teachers compared to 16% of the Middle School teachers).

Table 9

Teacher Stressors

	Middle School		Junior High		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Students	12	28	13	52	25	37
Disruptive students	9	21	7	28	16	24
Unmotivated students	3	7	6	24	9	13
Too much to do and too little time	8	19	8	32	16	24
Paper work	6	14	0	0	6	9
Inadequate support system ... machinery, material, administration	5	12	13	4	6	9
Grade papers	3	7	0	0	3	4
Apathetic parents	2	5	0	0	2	3
Self inadequacies	2	5	10	4	3	4
Large classes and varying abilities	1	2	1	4	2	3
Other	4	9	1	4	5	7

Table 10

Teacher Coping Strategies

Focus	Middle School #	Middle School %	Junior High #	Junior High %	Total #	Total %
Recreate	12	24	8	23	20	24
Get away from situation	10	20	8	23	18	21
Try to solve problem	8	16	3	9	11	13
Talk to others	5	10	3	9	8	9
Talk to other teachers	5	10	3	9	8	9
Get upset	2	4	4	11	6	7
Accept the situation	1	2	3	9	4	5
Professional activity	1	2	2	6	2	2
Other	6	12	2	6	8	9

SCHOOL ORGANIZATION AND EFFICACY: THE FIXED-ALTERNATIVE QUESTIONS

The purpose of the fixed-alternative questions was to (1) search for relationships between teachers' sense of efficacy and other variables considered to be related to effective teaching and (2) to investigate the relationship between school organization and sense of efficacy. In the next sections the specific variables of interest in the search for relationships that may provide insight into the processes by which teachers' sense of efficacy influences student achievement are discussed.

School Climate and Teachers' Sense of Efficacy

A number of important research studies have appeared recently to challenge the Coleman et al. (1966) and Jencks et al. (1972) conclusion that schools do not make a difference in the lives of children of poverty. These studies emerged from a variety of different perspectives and methodologies and, yet, are consistent in their results. That is, the overall climate of the school has a significant impact on students' learning. When this climate is supportive of student achievement, student gains in learning are very likely, irrespective of the socioeconomic level of the students.

Brookover and his colleagues (Brookover, Gigliotti, Henderson, & Schneider, 1973; Brookover, Schweitzer, Schneider, Beady, Flood, & Wisenbaker,1978) have conducted a series of studies that suggest that the negative effects of low SES on school achievement can be overcome if the school climate fosters high academic expectations in students and a sense of academic success. Following a study of relationships between teacher and student perceptions of climate, Ellett and Masters (1978) concluded that an educationally effective school climate will vary as a result of differing combinations of organizational, interpersonal and socio-psychological factors. Thus, a variety of different school climate configurations could be associated with high student achievement.

A major research endeavor in Great Britain has substantiated U.S. findings regarding school climate. Rutter, Maughan, Mortimore, Ouston, & Smith (1979) reported that students' achievement was related to the overall "ethos" or climate of the school. Specifically, the degree of academic emphasis, the availability of incentives, the extent to which students were given responsibility, teachers' expectations about students' work, and the feedback students received about their work provided a cumulative effect that combined to create the school ethos. Like Ellett and Masters, Rutter et al. concluded that it was not a single specific style or set of behaviors that constituted an effective school climate but a quality of life that pervaded the environment and was composed of different specific factors in different school contexts.

A number of teacher factors of school climate have been found to relate to school achievement, specifically, colleague relationships (Ellett & Masters, 1977) and teacher present evaluations-expectations of students and teacher perception of student academic improvability (Brookover et al., 1978). The differences in the organizational structures of the two middle schools in this study, that is, multi-age grouping and team teaching, were expected to influence school climate. To investigate the relationships among school organization, climate, and teachers' sense of efficacy, the three school climate factors identified above were assessed. Colleague relations were measured by a subscale of the School Survey (Ellett & Masters, 1977); see Appendix B, items 61-66. Teacher present evaluations-expectations were assessed using a subscale of the school climate instrument developed by Brookover and his colleagues; see Appendix B, items 40-44. Teacher perceptions of student improvability were also assessed using a subscale developed by Brookover and associates, see Appendix B, items 45-49.

Cohen (1979) reported that school organization can affect the degree of intergroup conflict; to determine if multi-age grouping and team teaching are related to reduced conflict and teacher sense of efficacy, questions from Deslonde's Multicultural Social Climate Scale (Cohen, 1979) were included in the teachers' questionnaire (see Appendix B, items 50-60).

Job Satisfaction and Teachers' Sense of Efficacy

The teacher's general satisfaction with teaching was expected to have a reciprocal relationship with sense of efficacy. Unfortunately, there seems to be a rather general dissatisfaction of teachers with teaching (Lortie, 1975). Research on job satisfaction offers some clues as to why teaching is not perceived as a highly satisfying occupation. From an extensive review of research on the determinants of job satisfaction, Vroom (1964) concluded that factors most conducive to job satisfaction include "high pay, substantial promotional opportunities, considerate and participative supervision, an opportunity to interact with one's peers, varied duties, and a high degree of control over work and methods and work pace" (p. 173). As Lortie (1975) aptly demonstrated, teaching offers little in these areas.

Research on job satisfaction has consistently shown that workers' job satisfaction is positively associated with the extent to which they participate in decision-making (Hornstein, Callahan, Fisch, & Benedict, 1968; Meyer & Cohen, 1971). However, Vroom (1964) demonstrated that the importance of participation in decision-making to job satisfaction is dependent upon the participant's personality. Participation in decision-making was most positively related to job satisfaction and performance of persons high in need for independence and low in authoritarianism ($r = .55$) and less positively related for individuals low in need for independence and high in authoritarianism ($r=.13$).

Vroom (1964) argued that job satisfaction is a function of the joint effects of work role and personality variables, especially motivation; this relationship becomes particularly complex in estimating teachers' job satisfaction as a result of lack of consensus on the nature of the teaching role and the specific contextual constraints on the role as a result of various organizational expectations.

The complexity of the relationship is compounded by considering the element of effort. Lortie (1975) pointed out that highly involved and committed older, unmarried women were relatively dissatisfied with teaching; thus, high effort and commitment in the context of inadequate rewards may be associated with lower levels of satisfaction and, concomitantly, sense of efficacy.

One particularly salient feature of the teacher's role for a consideration of job satisfaction and sense of efficacy, emerging from both Jackson's (1968) and Lortie's (1975) study of teachers, is the uncertainty regarding effectiveness. Lortie reported that this aspect of the teacher's work evoked more emotion than any other he studied. In fact, questioning teachers about their effectiveness led to such emotional "flooding" that Lortie was forced to rephrase his question in gentler terms. He wrote:

> Thus a seemingly simple question on problems of evaluating progress unleashed a torrent of feeling and frustration; one finds self-blame, a sense of inadequacy, the bitter taste of failure, anger at the students, despair, and other dark emotions. The freedom to assess one's own work is no occasion for joy; the conscience remains unsatisfied as ambiguity, uncertainty, and little apparent change impede the flow of reassurance. Teaching demands, it seems, the capacity to work for protracted periods without secure knowledge that one is having any positive effect on students. Some find it difficult to maintain their self-esteem. (p. 144)

This tormented sense of uncertainty must be a significant concern in identifying factors related to sense of efficacy. For example, how do teachers cope with the uncertainty in a way that enables them to maintain a sense of efficacy? One of the paradoxical functions of teachers' support groups, according to Lortie, is to help each other deal with feelings of self-doubt when confronted with the impossibility of fulfilling the formal goals of the profession and institution.

Within the context of the discussion of the relative dissatisfaction of teachers with teaching, it is important to recognize that there appears to be no consistent relationship between job performance and job satisfaction. In fact, current research fundings "conclusively reject" the hypothesis of job satisfaction as a causal determinant of job performance and offer only moderate support for performance as a determinant of satisfaction (Greene, 1975, p. 252). Greene contends that a more complex relationship obtains: It is reward not satisfaction that directly affects performance. How sense of efficacy would be implicated in this relationship is not immediately evident. To attempt to derive some preliminary evidence regarding the relationship of teacher job satisfaction to sense of efficacy, teachers were asked to describe some of their feelings about teaching (see Appendix A, items 29-39).

Results

School Differences

School means for the teachers' responses to the questionnaire items are presented in Table 11. A comparison of the distribution of responses from the two schools, using chi-square analysis (see Table 12), indicated that the Middle School teachers considered teaching more important to them than the Junior High teachers ($x^2=6.14$, $p<.05$) and were more likely to choose teaching again, if they had a chance to do it again ($x^2=7.69$, $p<.01$). The differences in teacher stress reported at the schools was not statistically significant ($x^2=3,65$, $p>.60$).

Since the responses for some of the items provided more than simple nominal data and were at least ordinal in nature, the more powerful Wilcoxin test was used to examine differences in distributions of teacher response patterns for those items. Results of this analysis (see Table 13) indicate that Middle School teachers were more satisfied with teaching than Junior High teachers ($x^2=3.85$, $p<.05$).

Coefficient alpha calculated for the Brookover et al. (1979), Cohen (1979), and School Survey (Ellett & Masters, 1977) school climate items was .61, .84, and .59, respectively. It was concluded that these coefficients were sufficiently high to warrant use of a total score for each. One-way analysis of variance indicated that Middle School teachers had higher expectations of academic success for their students ($F= 6.18$, $p<.05$). Middle School teachers reported more difficulties with collegial relations than did Junior High teachers ($F=8.24$, $p<.01$). No significant differences in student intergroup conflict (Cohen, 1979) were detected.

Of most interest for the purposes of this study, there was a trend approaching significance, indicating that Middle School teachers had a higher sense of efficacy than Junior High teachers, measured by their total score on the Rand Efficacy items, $F(1, 46)=2.82$, $p<.10$. While the school effect on teachers' sense of efficacy failed to attain statistical significance, the fact that Middle School teachers did have higher mean scores on both efficacy items may be suggestive of the need for further investigation of the relationship between school organization and teacher's sense of efficacy. It is possible that the skew and limited variability ($M=8.66$, $SD=1.51$) may have restricted the possibility of discovering real differences in teachers' sense of efficacy due to school differences. Response distributions for the two efficacy items for each school are presented in Table 14. Examination of this table reveals that 50% of the Middle School teachers scored 8 or above compared to 30% of Junior High teachers, and, in contrast, 32% of Middle School teachers scored 6 or less compared to 55% of Junior High teachers. These data suggest that there may be real school differences in efficacy that a larger sample and a more reliable (longer) instrument might well be able to detect.

Teachers' responses to the item asking for attribution of responsibility for student failure also suggested a potentially important difference between the teachers in the two schools, though statistically

Table 11

School Means and Standard Deviations for Questionnaire Data

Item Number			N	Mean	SD	Min.	Max.
Efficacy 1		Middle School	28	3.43	.96	2	5
		Junior High	20	2.95	1.15	1	5
Efficacy 2		Middle School	29	3.76	.79	2	5
		Junior High	20	3.50	.79	2	5
26.	Stress	Middle School	29	3.34	1.01	1	5
		Junior High	20	3.10	1.12	0	5
29.	Satisfaction[1]	Middle School	29	2.21	.82	1	4
		Junior High	20	2.95	1.19	1	5
30.	Teaching as Life Interest	Middle School	29	3.97	1.30	1	7
		Junior High	20	3.55	1.64	2	7
33.	Work[2]	Middle School	29	1.41	.50	1	2
		Junior High	20	1.70	.57	2	3
34.	Freedom	Middle School	29	6.14	.87	4	7
		Junior High	20	6.05	1.05	3	7
37.	Importance[3] of Teaching	Middle School	29	1.52	.51	1	2
		Junior High	20	1.90	.55	1	3
38.	Assessing Teaching[4]	Middle School	29	1.38	.49	1	2
		Junior High	20	1.60	.60	1	3
40-49	Brookover[5]	Middle School	29	23.86	4.10	15	35
		Junior High	20	26.65	3.47	20	33
50-60	Cohen[6]	Middle School	29	41.52	7.08	17	51
		Junior High	20	43.65	8.04	26	56
61-66	Colleague Relations[7]	Middle School	29	14.79	2.51	10	18
		Junior High	20	16.75	2.07	11	18

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[1] Lower score indicates greater satisfaction.

[2] The lower the score, the harder the teacher feels s/he works.

[3] The lower the number, the more important teaching is to the teacher.

[4] The higher the number, the more difficult the teacher feels it is to assess teaching.

[5] The lower the score, the higher the teacher expectation for student success.

[6] The higher the score, the greater the school cultural conflict.

[7] Higher score indicates better colleague relations.

Table 12

Chi-square Tests of School Differences

Item	x^2	df	p
Efficacy 1	4.10	4	.39
Efficacy 2	2.71	3	.44
Total Efficacy Score	8.07	7	.33
Training	1.83	2	.40
Elementary Degree	.21	1	.65
Secondary Degree	1.34	1	.24
Middle School Degree	2.46	1	.12
Willingness to be observed	.44	1	.51
Willingness to attend workshop	1.64	1	.20
Willingness to serve as consultant	2.02	1	.16
26. How stressful is teaching?	3.65	5	.60
29. How satisfied are you with teaching	8.68	4	.07
30. Teaching as % of total life interests	9.80	6	.13
31. Teaching Emphasis/Warmth or Work	.36	2	.84
32. Type of Student Preferred	5.27	3	.15
Type of Student Preferred--2nd Choice	2.63	4	.62
33. How hard do you work?	3.64	2	.16
34. How free are you in your work?	3.90	4	.42
37. How important is teaching to you?	6.14	2	.05
35. To what do you attribute student failure	5.60	3	.13
38. How difficult is it to assess teaching?	2.48	2	.29
39. Would you choose teaching again?	7.69	1	.01

Table 13

Wilcoxin Tests of School Differences

Item	x^2	df	p
Efficacy 1	1.93	1	.16
Efficacy 2	.97	1	.32
29. How satisfied are you with teaching?	3.85	1	.05
30. How hard do you work?	2.30	1	.13
31. How important is teaching to you?	3.89	1	.05

Table 14

Distribution of Efficacy Responses by School

	3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10	
School	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Middle School	0	0	2	7	0	0	7	25	5	18	11	39	2	7	1	4
Junior High	1	5	1	5	3	15	6	30	3	15	4	20	2	10	0	0

significant differences were not detectable. The item appeared on the questionnaire as follows:

> When my students fail to learn a lesson that I have taught, their failure is probably due to ______________________________
>
> ____

Responses were categorized as either an attribution to self (e.g., I was not prepared; I failed to present the lesson adequately) or to students (e.g., students were not listening, they lacked the ability; they were not motivated) or to both student and self. From Table 15, it can be seen that Middle School teachers were much less likely than Junior High teachers to blame students for their failure.

Efficacy

Comparison of the distributions of the teachers' scores on the two Rand efficacy items using chi-square analysis indicated that the two items do not appear to be measuring the same construct ($x^2=11.11$, $p<.52$), and consequently, analyses of the response patterns for efficacy and the other items on the questionnaire were carried out for each efficacy item separately. These results appear in Table 16 and 17. Results indicate a relationship between training and scores on Rand Efficacy item 1, ($x^2=16.56$, p .03); that is, teachers with training beyond the Bachelors degree are more likely to score higher on Efficacy, as measured by Rand item 1. This result, however, did not hold for Efficacy item 2. Teachers with high scores on Rand Efficacy 2 were more likely to agree to serve as a consultant to the Efficacy project than teachers with low scores ($x^2=8.14$, $p<.04$). Teachers' preferences for different types of students were associated with their scores on Rand Efficacy item 2. ($x^2=21.21$, $p<.01$). There was a trend indicating a potential relationship between teacher job satisfaction and efficacy ($x^2=20.12$, $p<.06$), as measured by Rand efficacy item 2.

Discussion

Middle School teachers considered teaching to be more important to them than did Junior High teachers. The Middle School teachers also reported that they were more satisfied with teaching and were more likely to choose teaching as a career, if they had a chance to do it again. In addition, the Middle School teachers had high expectations of academic success for their students and tended to have a higher sense of efficacy. While a selection bias or some factor other than school structure, *per se*, may account for these positive results, they warrant further study.

Teachers' responses to the question of their perceptions of their role demonstrate dramatically that the Middle School teachers perceive their teaching responsibilities differently than the Junior High teachers. Clearly, the Middle School teachers are more concerned with their students' affective development than the Junior High teachers. The Middle School

Table 15

Teachers' Attribution of Responsibility for Failure

	Middle School		Junior High		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Self	12	41	7	30	19	38
Student	4	14	7	35	11	22
Self and Student	9	31	7	35	16	32
Other	4	14	0	0	4	8

Table 16

Chi-square Tests of Relation Between Efficacy (Item 1) and Other Teacher Attitudes

Item	χ^2	df	p
Efficacy 2	11.11	12	.52
Training	16.56	8	.03
Elementary Degree	3.83	4	.43
Secondary Degree	3.22	4	.52
Middle School Degree	3.17	4	.53
Willingness to be observed	3.11	4	.54
Willingness to attend workshop	1.53	4	.82
Willingness to serve as consultant	6.14	4	.19
26. How stressful is teaching?	11.81	20	.92
29. How satisfied are you with teaching	18.39	16	.30
30. Teaching as % of total life interests	16.49	24	.87
31. Teaching emphasis/warmth or work	8.97	8	.35
32. Type of student preferred	9.93	12	.62
Type of student preferred--2nd choice	11.15	16	.80
33. How hard do you work?	2.16	8	.98
34. How free are you in your work?	20.47	16	.20
37. How important is teaching to you?	4.62	8	.80
38. How difficult is it to assess teaching?	6.98	8	.54
39. Would you choose teaching again?	2.42	4	.66

70

Table 17

Chi-square Tests of Relation Between
Efficacy (Item 2) and Other Teacher Attitudes

Item	χ^2	df	p
Efficacy 1	11.11	12	.52
Training	.69	6	.99
Elementary Degree	1.96	3	.58
Secondary Degree	.80	3	.85
Middle School Degree	4.16	3	.24
Willingness to be observed	5.24	3	.16
Willingness to attend workshop	.93	3	.82
Willingness to serve as consultant	8.14	3	.04
26. How stressful is teaching?	21.76	15	.11
29. How satisfied are you with teaching?	20.12	12	.06
30. Teaching as % of total life interest	21.24	18	.27
31. Teaching emphasis/warmth or work	12.04	6	.06
32. Type of student preferred	21.21	9	.01
Type of student preferred--2nd choice	17.52	12	.13
33. How hard do you work?	6.72	6	.35
34. How free are you in your work?	6.76	12	.87
37. How important is teaching to you?	8.84	6	.18
38. How difficult is it to assess teaching	8.14	6	.23
39. Would you choose teaching again?	3.13	3	.37

teachers' report of greater satisfaction in teaching than the Junior High teachers may be related to the difference in perception of their teaching role. Jackson (1968) and Lortie (1975) among others have noted that teachers tend to derive their rewards and satisfactions in teaching from their role in the total development of the individual student. The Middle School emphasis on affective goals and long-term relationships of students and teachers over a three-year span may give a greater sense of effectiveness by virtue of their being able to observe their contribution to students' development over an extended period. The rapid and significant changes that students undergo during the middle school years may intensify teachers' feelings of effectiveness, when teachers are given the opportunity to participate in this growth from the students' entrance into middle school until their exit three years later.

Experimental research that investigates the potential impact of prolonged exposure of teacher and student over more than the year of traditional teacher-student assignment might reveal that teachers' job satisfaction would increase as a function of being able to see students' long-term growth. With a longer association, teachers may become more assured that they are indeed having an impact on their students' lives.

The finding of difficult collegial relations among the middle school teachers was not unexpected. Draud (1977) reported a similar finding in his comparison of middle and junior high school teachers. Brookover and Lezotte (1977) noted that conflict among school staff may be indicative of a creative, committed group of professionals. In their study of team organization, Cohen, Bredo, and Duckworth (1976) concluded that the way teams work together influences job satisfaction. While, in most cases, teaming led to higher frequency of teacher interaction and job satisfaction; this was not true of all teams. They attributed differences in team satisfaction to the nature of team teaching tasks and the quality of teacher interactions on the team. Results of a study by Arikado and Musella (1973) suggest an intriguing hypothesis that may be pertinent to the findings of this study. They found that teachers in leaderless teams reported greater job satisfaction than teams with formal leaders. Tentative evidence derived from interviews with teachers in this study suggests that the status of team leader may create dissatisfaction among team teachers. Further work is needed to explore the processes that are conducive to conflict resolution and facilitative team relationships.

In conclusion, the results of this study suggest that the middle school with its team organization and affective orientation may have potential for improving teacher job satisfaction. In light of the transition to middle schools that many junior high schools are currently undergoing, it would be advisable to conduct comparative studies of teacher attitudes prior to and following such transitions to determine if the positive results obtained in this study are consistent outcomes of a middle school organization. In the context of such research, it would be useful to design quasi-experimental transition studies that could examine the impact of specific components of middle school organization on specific aspects of job satisfaction in order to increase our understanding of the processes that contribute to positive school climate and teachers' sense of efficacy.

SCHOOL ORGANIZATION AND TEACHERS' SENSE OF EFFICACY: A MICROETHNOGRAPHY

Introduction

The purpose of this ethnographic study of the two organizationally different middle schools was to explore the relationship of school organization to teachers' attitudes toward their work, especially their sense of efficacy. Organizational features, such as the arrangement of teachers, students, and administrators in time and space, the division of labor and leadership, and the tasks to be performed within their incumbent roles and responsibilities, contribute to the unique shape of the participants' experience, attitudes, and behaviors within a school. The way in which teachers' professional lives differ in response to differences in school structure may have important implications for their sense of efficacy. Consequently, the fundamental question to be addressed by this research was: How do teachers' attitudes differ in organizationally different schools, especially in terms of their sense of efficacy, and how can these differences be explained by the variations in school organization?

Methodology

The exploratory nature of this research task required a methodology capable of examining teaching and its contextual determinants in a way that would be useful in generating hypotheses for directing further research and theory building. To provide useful insights into the processes by which school organization influences teacher thought and action, a methodology was required that has the capacity to go beyond merely describing what teachers do and what teachers believe in each school. A methodology was needed that would allow the researcher to describe ". . .the complex meaning systems people use to organize their behavior, to understand themselves and others and to make sense out of the world in which they live" (Spradley, 1980, p. 5). Because of its usefulness for these purposes, ethnography was chosen as the appropriate methodology for this study.

Consisting of an in-depth analysis of four teachers' perceptions of their professional lives, as they were influenced by school organization, this research qualifies as a microethnography, focusing as it does on only one aspect of teaching in contrasting school organizations. The concept of world view, borrowed from the field of anthropology, provided the focus of the study. World view refers to the system of beliefs, attitudes and explanations teachers use in conducting and evaluating their professional lives.

For a period of a year, two teachers each from the two organizationally different middle schools were observed as they taught their classes and as they related to other teachers, staff, and students. The approximate schedule of observations appears in Table 18. (An effort was made to keep the number and timing of observations of the four teachers equivalent.) The teachers were also interviewed at length about their attitudes toward teaching. The four teachers were selected

Table 18

Schedule of Observations

Date	School	Teacher
8/25/80	1 & 2	1S, 1Q, 1L, 2D, 2J
8/26/80	1	1S, 1Q
8/27/80	2	2D, 2J, 2B
8/28/80	1	1S, 1Q, 1L
9/10/80	1	1S, 1Q, 1L
9/11/80	2	2D, 2J, 2B
10/28/80	2	2D, 2J, 2B, Dean's office, Cafeteria, hallways
10/29/80	1	1S, 1Q, 1L, Team, Cafeteria, hallways
12/19/80	2	2D, 2J, 2B, hallways
2/2/81	1	1Q, 1L in Faculty meeting
2/4/81	2	2J
3/31/81	1	1L
4/1/81	2	2J
4/7/81	1	1Q
4/8/81	1	1Q, 1L
4/9/81	2	2B
4/10/81	2	2J, 2B
4/14/81	1	1L
4/15/81	2	2J
4/16/81	1	1L
4/27/81	1	1Q
4/28/81	2	2B
4/29/81	1	1L
4/30/81	2	2J
5/1/81	1 & 2	1Q, 1L, 2J, 2B
5/4/81	1	1Q
5/6/81	2	2B
5/8/81	1	1L
5/12/81	2	2J
5/14/81	1	1Q
5/18/81	2	2B
5/20/81	1	1L
5/22/81	1 & 2	1Q, 1L, 2J, 2B

according to the following criteria:

- Two or more years of teaching in the school
- Previous teaching experience in another school
- Willing to participate in year-long study
- Identified by school principal and assistant principal as "good" classroom managers
- In the middle school, belonged to the same team
- In the junior high, belonged to the same department but different grade levels

These criteria were established in order to reduce teacher differences that might not be related to school organization and highlight characteristics that might.

All data collected in the field were recorded in field notes or on tape. Following each day of field work the field notes were expanded and transcribed onto tapes. Then, these tapes were transcribed on 5" X 8" note cards for analysis purposes.

The primary methodological strategy employed was cultural theme analysis, a process of identifying domains which appear to have an organizing capacity, providing a system of meaning for individuals within a cultural setting. Defined by Spradley, a cultural theme is ". . . any principle recurrent in a number of domains, tacit or explicit, and serving as a relationship among domains; any subsystems of cultural meaning" (1980, p. 141).

Results

The major cultural themes distinguishing the teachers in the two schools will be described followed by a discussion of the major school organization factors identified in the analysis as contributing to the thematic differences.

Teaching Conceptions: An Exalted or a Burdened Profession?

Teachers' attitudes about the job of teaching were found to be sharply different in the two schools. At the middle school, the teachers operated with a cloak of heroic pride and the prevailing belief that the job of teaching is hard work, sacrificial, underpaid, but terribly important. In spite of pronounced frustrations that there were not enough hours in the day, these teachers viewed their job as a personal challenge and managed to maintain a near-the-surface awareness of the grandeur of their job.

They professed the belief that teaching was therefore an almost exalted profession, particularly in view of the working hardships teachers face and that it was a source of profound personal satisfaction. This attitude was poignantly expressed by one middle school teacher:

> I think that teaching is an inspired profession, I really do. For philosophical and religious reasons I feel like teaching is a gift and a unique opportunity to help other individuals . . . it's a great contribution that we can make to our fellow human beings and to our society . . . realizing that we're taking. . . not only their intellect but their total being over a period of years, and we're spending. . . as much time as their parents do with their children, and we're entrusted with their development and that's a great responsibility and yet a great opportunity, and I see it as both, and I consider my position an exalted one if you want to say it that way, and I think that's one of the reasons I have stayed with [teaching] . . . realizing my rewards are maybe not in the financial realm. . .if I feel good about what I'm doing and feel like I'm really contributing to society and my fellow man, maybe that's much more worthwhile than the dollar. So, I guess that is a basic assumption. . . that I feel it is a calling . . . .
>
> One of the things that helped develop that idea of the calling or the exalted position is the middle school concept. I think if you taught at the high school or let's say a junior high school situation, I don't think the stress is on the total development of the child. . . you see yourself as instilling a certain amount of intellectual knowledge. Now if you only perceived your role that way it doesn't give you this full feeling-- still it's a tremendous responsibility, but when you think about the total development of the child which the middle school talks about, you know, self concept,

> in a sense we're talking about his moral development--values and how he relates to other people and is he going to be a contributing member of society and we're talking about a lot more things than just his mind, then that makes it much more fulfilling . . . .

The middle school teachers' conception of teaching as a noble profession, in which they are entrusted with a great moral responsibility, was supported by a series of beliefs they held about students and the effects of schooling. The middle school teachers were convinced that the job of teaching offered them an opportunity to affect the lives and futures of their students in significant ways. Teachers unquestioningly felt that the importance of their job was first and foremost determined by the students, and they were committed to working for improvement and change in all students. To achieve success in these grand aims, the middle school teachers reported that teaching their students to assume responsibility for their behavior, and, ultimately, for their lives was a major objective. The strength of these convictions and their relationship to a strong sense of efficacy were conveyed in the comments made by another middle school teacher when she was asked about her teaching goals:

> First, before you can teach them anything, you have to teach them how to live, if they don't know how to yet. Unfortunately, a lot of them don't. And you have to teach them to take responsibilities for their own actions. You can't ever let them get into a situation where they blame anybody else for their performance at school. It's something that they have to take the responsibility for. I really feel that that's true. The thing I want to teach them is how to continue learning after they leave me or after they leave school. And I don't want them to just do things because they get a grade for it or something like that. And that's why I really stress a lot of recreational reading. And I think it's very important to teach them how to get along with each other -- not just in the school setting but in other social settings too. And it's unfortunate that we have all of these responsibilities that we do. Because you can't teach kids how to read or do math or anything else if they don't know how to live. And though some of them do, many of them don't.
>
> I didn't have this orientation at the beginning. At the beginning I thought I was supposed to go in and teach Language Arts. And that's all I was going to do. . . . This was when I taught at another middle school, but it wasn't very organized. And I had just eighth graders then. And I soon began to realize that there were lots of behaviors of the kids that they learned other places. . . that really interfered with learning, and there were lots of things they were bringing from home -- lots of problems and things that interfered with their learning. And I thought that what I needed to do was ignore those other

> things. I really thought that was my job. To ignore all the problems and to go ahead and teach them. And I thought it could be done. But I found out that you couldn't.
>
> You can't let the problems be an excuse for why the kids don't learn. But you still have to take the other problems and extraneous things into account or you can't teach them. And there is a difference between using those things as an excuse, and saying, "This kid can never learn, because look at his home life." That, I totally disagree with. But I still think that you need to look at those things and work with those things before you teach the kids.

This middle school teachers' commitment to reach all students is also reflected in her response to a request to describe the different kinds of students that she teaches:

> Then I have some kids who don't come from a supportive environment. So whenever they get to school, before they can learn anything, they've got to have the supportive environment established at school, because nobody at home is telling them that it's important for them to learn this or that or the other thing. So I have to first of all convince them that it's important and make them trust me enough so that they would want to learn whatever it is that I have to teach them. And so, besides teaching those kids the kind of stuff I'm teaching the other kids, I also have to teach them values about learning. And then there are kids who you not only have to teach values about learning, but you also have to teach them life values. They don't know that there is a way to live without fighting or they don't know that there is a way to live where you take responsibility for your life, and you can really do things about your life, and they have to be shown that the things they do have consequences and that they can control their own lives. So then you have to teach them that learning is important. You have to teach them that they can control their own lives, and you also have to teach them whatever it is that you're supposed to be teaching them. . . .
>
> Yes, I would say that's really been the major way that I differentiate them. I have found it really doesn't have all that much to do with economics at all.

The teachers at the middle school were continually generating new ideas for teaching and for improving the quality of school life for themselves and their students. They viewed the job of teaching as an opportunity to create, explore and experiment with educational issues and conditions. This attitude is reflected in a middle school teacher's response to a request to define teaching:

> It's a process of sharing what the teacher has learned or experienced with the student. Plus, it's a process of helping the student to discover both his own curiosity about how things work and things around him or things that have happened. Also, to help him discover his own values and how to find information that he may be seeking and how to take that information and actually apply it to what he's learned before and actually how that information may affect his values or how he's going to use it in his life. I really think one of the key processes is helping the student take what you are offering him and relate it back both to other situations or other lessons that he's learned and also to his values and the way he is going to structure his life . . . I guess I'm a person who feels that teaching and education is a process that has to be experienced. I'm not one of these people who is really content oriented. I'm more concept oriented, working with ideas. And in order to teach ideas I think the student has to experience them. That might be through lab experiments in science or if it's in social studies it would be simulations or through role playing or other types of activities. It's essential, I feel, that the teacher take what is maybe an abstract idea and put it into a real situation where the student is given a chance to work with it, see it work in operation or role play it or somehow experience it so that he gets a deeper understanding of what it's all about. And it's important that we realize that you know the amount of information content is expanding at such a rapid rate that there is no way possible that a teacher can teach all the content that is necessary in a given area. So, what you want to do as a teacher, I think, is to expose the student to ideas and then show him how he can search on his own to find information that relates to those ideas; teach the student how to analyze information that comes to him, to organize material and information that comes to him and then take those concepts and actually be able to think them through to some rational process, scientific method or whatever you want to call it - through some type of organized system to take the information and then analyze it and apply it to new ideas.

Teachers did regret not having more time for planning, grading papers and managing school business. Rather than foregoing quality, however, this meant the job was more demanding. The incredible effort expended by many middle school teachers is typified in one teacher's description of her schedule:

> I usually get up around 4:30 or 5:00 o'clock. I grade papers and plan my lesson for the day. I'm just too tired at night usually to do anything like that. For example, I got up this morning at 4:30. I didn't have any papers to grade, but I had all my lessons for today to plan and I had to read about five stories today so that I could have an intelligent discussion with the kids about them. I have one group reading a novel, and I have to, you know, plan the way we're going to discuss it today. And then, whenever I finish that, I come to school. So that means that some days I get here like 7:15 or some days I don't even get here until 8:00, which is five minutes late. But I rationalize that if I'm doing my school work, then I can come in whenever I reach a good stopping point. And I like, whenever I can, to get here early enough to be able to go around and say good morning to some people and get a few little communication things in. Anytime I can, I'd rather talk to people instead of writing them a note. I think it gets the job done in a better way. And then, in the morning I try to sit in the planning room the whole time. Sometimes I do come to my classroom. It's very hard for me to get right into sitting down and accomplishing something right after school. And, fortunately, it's that same way for most of the people on my team. So a lot of time, after school, we're all a little more casual when we sit around to talk about what happened during the day. I just feel like there is almost no time, here at school, when we're not talking about something that'll benefit the kids in some way. You know, it's not that we plan it that way, it just happens that way. You know, that's where our concern is. I love coming to school and working. The things about my job that I get disgusted about are those paper work kinds of things when your kids aren't here. The time the kids are here, it's so valuable to me I really enjoy it. I love it. Any kind of dissatisfactions that I have with teaching doesn't ever come from - well, I can't say never, but they rarely come from - the time I spend in the classroom. I think that's a really exciting time.

At the Junior High, the teachers did not have these same convictions about the job of teaching. While they "liked" teaching, they did not talk of it in glowing terms but described it more as a burdened profession, a trying job. As opposed to viewing the job as heroic, these teachers spoke of teaching in factual, limiting terms. This attitude is conveyed in the brief, doctrinaire responses the Junior High teachers gave in contrast to the lengthy, philosophical responses from the Middle School teachers when they were asked to define teaching. One teacher replied:

> Teaching is teaching a child how to use all his skills.

A second Junior High teacher responded:

> Helping students to learn to become, to grow as individuals, to become all they can be in every way.

It was clear that for them the job was not a guaranteed opportunity to shape students' lives and futures. In fact, they were fairly uncertain about the school's capacity to do that. They did see the job as an opportunity to teach students about a designated piece of the curriculum or to prepare them for high school requirements. Somehow, these teachers had a dim memory of those ideals which led them to teaching in the first place, but the glow of those dreams had faded and the real demands of executing the curriculum colored their notions about teaching. They were not unhappy and rather liked their work but didn't really speak with enthusiasm about teaching. When asked if there are things that you look forward to each day the two Junior High teachers responded:

> No. I think I kinda do look forward to each class as it comes in. I don't think I look forward to any one thing in particular, because I usually try to change the pace during class so I won't be bored. I try not to bore myself. Sometimes I do, but after six classes . . .
>
> Oh, well, I don't know. Most of the days I don't. I mean, I don't ever . . . well maybe Monday mornings, maybe if I'm especially tired or something like that or just don't feel good, but most of the time you know, I don't. I hardly ever dread [coming in] unless there's some other kind of pressure about things. And if there's, oh, I don't know, maybe something particularly exciting.

Relating the significance of the teaching job to the effective execution of the curriculum may account for some of the teachers' attitudes about teaching. Teaching creativity, ingenuity and experimentation were not viewed as part of the job as much as the capacity to cover material in the course of a school year. Technical aspects of the job were more consuming as teachers perceived themselves to be at the mercy of the curriculum. Thus, teaching was not acknowledged as an opportunity to explore and experiment with educational issues and conditions.

With regard to beliefs about students and job attitudes, the teachers had a somewhat fatalistic perspective on student improvability -- some will and some won't, and there's only so much one can do, as one Junior High teacher responded when asked, "Have you ever had a child who's not interested in school activities?"

> Teacher: Well, there's quite a number of those and some of them are, you know, lacking. I can deal with some and some of them I never, you . . . they leave exactly the same shape that they came in.
>
> Interviewer: What has worked with you with kids like that?
>
> Teacher: Just explaining sometimes, you know. I know social studies may not be one of the things that you really like, but, you know, I think you can try. I think you can do something, and sometimes it does and sometimes it doesn't - sometimes it helps, you know, and sometimes it doesn't.

Since the focus was on the curriculum, students' potential was defined mostly in terms of academic success (i.e., good grades, appreciation for subject matter), and not in terms of social and emotional growth and development. Possibilities for student improvement were thereby limited. Teaching was viewed as a job with limited power and potential for producing change in students' lives. This attitude was particularly evident in the Junior High teachers' concern about the lack of ability grouping in their classes:

> Interviewer: How does your teaching situation affect your capacity to achieve your teaching goals?
>
> Teacher: First of all, that kids aren't grouped . . . it makes it difficult for teaching. Some of them are capable and some of them are totally, you know, you've got everything from an ESE kid just one slot out of EMR to gifted in the same room and it's very difficult to handle the needs of both of those kids when the range is so huge. Also, meeting the needs of this great disparity of ranges - that is totally beyond me.
>
> Interviewer: How would you group kids?
>
> Teacher: Well, I think it would probably be easier to group them maybe behaviorally, but behaviorally probably comes from academically, whether they are able, you know, whether they are frustrated by the material, whether they are able to perform. When they're not, then they become problems in one way or another, either they're not producing so it's an academic problem for me. It would probably be easier for me to group them on what ability level they are.
>
> Interviewer: Can you give an example of how you might change some part of your teaching or grading or expectations?

> Teacher: Well, you expect, if I assign a written report, or if I assign anything outside I don't expect as indepth or as thorough, or I don't expect in many instances what you would really call a report from certain students. I mean if they copy something straight out of an encyclopedia I feel like I'm lucky.

When asked "Do students support your teaching goals?" one of the Junior High teachers responded:

> . . .they're more supportive of their own little social thing . . .it's just that my thing is not that important. It's important to me, it's just not that important to them. They're not trying to keep from doing it, but it's just not that important to them. It's a minor thing in their lives.

Teacher Role Perceptions: Student Development vs Academic Instruction

Job attitudes were closely linked to the teachers' role perceptions. Teachers' perceptions about what they ought to be doing at work were quite different at the two schools. At the middle school teachers saw themselves as responsible for the tasks of planning effective lessons and evaluating progress, but essentially perceived their most crucial role to be that of "helping students" in a number of different ways. Essentially they perceived themselves as agents of personal development, performing the tasks of advising, guiding, encouraging and caring for students with the intention of teaching students how to get along in the world. Second to the teacher-helper role was the role of developing teacher-student relationships. Third was the role of teacher collaborator and team member. Teachers believed that the roles of teacher-helper and relationship-enhancer were complimented by the role of team member. All three major roles highlight a role perception which focuses on the interpersonal dimensions of school life, as the two Middle School teachers explained:

> I think just by virtue of the fact that this school is set up based around teams and AA's and everything, it means that one of the most important things that this school is making sure of is that the kids are happy and comfortable here and then they feel safe, and when you know that that's a really important thing at the school you feel better about spending time trying to make it happen. You don't feel like you're short-changing the kids. I think there are probably a lot of schools where the subject matter or whatever it is that you're supposed to be teaching as far as the content goes, that overrides any other concern and I would say that at least on this team, and probably all across the school, that we have to make sure that the kids are happy first. Because otherwise they aren't going to learn anything anyway and we have to come to recognize that so we do something about it.

> You know, I really feel that if you're going to have any really effective development of the child in the emotional level you have to have a program that is laid out very clearly and then is encouraged. You do what it says is supposed to be done. That's basically what the advisor-advisee program is about. It's a format where certain types of activities are set up so that you can work with students' values and help them clarify what they think is important in their lives. And it also works with their self-concept which is extremely important to an adolescent because they go through a lot, you know, at this age, and a lot of times it is easy to picture oneself as "the ugly duckling", unacceptable, a social outcast, or whatever it might be. We help a student realize that there are good things about him and having a positive concept and a positive self-image is extremely important. It is hard even to work in an academic level if you're frustrated with yourself and what's happening in your life. And you have a means of dealing with this or with these types of problems.

In contrast, the teachers from the junior high saw themselves first in the role of instructor, teaching students their subject matter. Second, teachers saw themselves as disciplinarians in the role of classroom manager. The third role was that of grade-giver. Giving grades was an important part of the job for these teachers and was perceived as a major role as well. The emphasis here was on the management aspects of teaching as opposed to the interpersonal dimensions of the school world. The importance given to these aspects of teaching is evident in the teachers' responses to the question, "How do you evaluate your students?"

> Test scores, teacher tests (not Metropolitan) and sometimes self-evaluation kinds of things, I've used those too. But for the academic mark, it's mainly based on tests and classroom work. Now with the behavior part of it, that's based on, well, observation - marks for one particular thing or another, like with the gum or if they're sent to the office or any of those kinds of things that I have to say more than once or if I have to write their name on the board at the beginning of the period when people aren't where they're supposed to be.
>
> Easy, three ways: tests, homework and classwork.

Differences in classroom instruction and management indicated differences in teachers' goals and priorities in teaching. The middle school teachers used a variety of teaching methods, focused on "understanding over completion" and frequently grouped students in an effort to meet individual student needs. When classroom activities were interrupted by an infraction, it was immediately stopped, and lessons were continued. With the majority of cases, teachers later counselled students, advising them to behave in appropriate ways. Teachers were concerned that students learn self-control, and disciplining was used as a tool for that instruction. Students were rarely sent to the office but instead were required to draw up a contract of agreement between themselves and their teachers. At the middle school, teachers worked hard to make lessons interesting, emphasized learning over grades and valued student interests and needs. Curriculum was viewed as a flexible resource.

Teachers at the junior high planned and taught lessons which repeatedly relied on one main teaching model. The teachers disseminated information, and the students read and answered questions from the texts. Students in a single class did the same activities, and few accommodations were made for those moving faster or slower than the average students in the class. Student interests were rarely considered with any sincere interest to acknowledge them, and very little attention was given to "understanding". The paramount goal was getting through the chapters and having students complete required work.

Infractions were viewed as time-consuming irritants, and culprits were generally removed from the room and sent to the office. Teachers did not follow up with any counseling with the students who were sent out. There was a belief that students ought to come to school ready to learn. The teachers worked hard to be efficient and organized, to follow the curriculum guide and to maintain allegiance to academic goals. The curriculum was viewed as a fixed guide.

Organizational Factors Related to Teachers' Sense of Efficacy

Three school factors seem to be particularly important in influencing teachers' sense of efficacy: team teaching, the school principal, and multi-age grouping. The nature and influence of these aspects of the schools' organization will be discussed in some detail.

Teacher Relationships

Introduction

For the majority of teachers, professional collegial relationships are rare. Teaching is a profession characterized by the neutral isolation of its members and an individualistic conception of teacher roles and responsibilities (Lortie, 1975). With little idea of a state of the art compounded by the absence of a common technical culture, teachers enter the profession with the overwhelming task of determining what teaching is all about, and determining that alone. As Lortie explained in his work School Teacher (Lortie, 1975):

> Each teacher must laboriously construct ways of preceiving and interpreting what is significant. That is one of the costs of the neutral isolation which attends the absence of a common technical culture. (p. 73)

This free-wheeling, wide open status for the profession perpetuates a wide variety in the characteristics of its members. At the same time, it exacerbates the individual teacher's burden of success or failure as he/she can rarely derive consolation from compliance with some set of normal professional expectations. Moreover, it reduces the likelihood of collegiality since teachers represent individual personalities who have struggled to find individual ways to survive. With such an individualistic orientation, other teachers are more likely to be viewed as intruders rather than comrades (Lortie, 1975).

That teaching ought to be more than a semi-profession (Etzioni, 1969), and that teachers must communicate, cooperate and collaborate for that goal to be achieved (Lortie, 1964) has been a subject of serious investigation for some time. The individual school as a social system has been frequently identified as one potential source for the modification of teacher behavior, sentiments and professional world views which perpetuate the status of the profession (Bossert, 1979; Goodlad, 1975). If a characteristic of teachers' psychological world is indeed as Lortie concluded, one of "....uncertainty about their own capacity to be effective," (Lortie, 1975, p. 132) perhaps answers to reducing that uncertainty lie in the design and operation of the individual school (Metz, 1978). Alterations in the reward system which promotes individualism in the work arrangements which prohibit collegial interaction and in the leadership structures which discourage teacher autonomy could change the nature of the teaching experience in profound ways.

In this section of the report, collegial relationships are analyzed as they were witnessed in two organizationally different middle schools. At Middle School, teachers were arranged in interdisciplinary teams where four or more teachers shared the same group of students and related instructional responsibilities, the same part of the school building, the same planning area, the same daily schedule, and the same resources and supplies. The teachers at Junior High, however, had individual teaching responsibilities distinguishable by the subject area, particular levels of ability and grade level or levels taught. Formal membership in their subject area's department was a unit of common collegial association but did not provide for task-related daily interaction or sharing nor was it designed to do so.

In addition, teachers' roles and responsibilities in the two schools varied as a result of the differences in organization. Participation in decision-making in Middle School occurred through the same team unit where team teachers had the opportunity to make decisions collectively and refer their decisions to the administrators. Since the department's realm of decision-making at the Junior High rarely stretched beyond subject area curriculum concerns, decisions were not referred to the collective minds of department members on a regular basis. Department chairpersons did participate in decision-making with the administrators, but the teachers were viewed as individual faculty members who had opportunities to present their personal ideas and opinions rather than the shared views of a common group.

On the surface, differences in the two schools have the potential for producing collegial relationships of contrasting natures. And they did. An account and analysis of how and why these differences existed follow.

Middle School

An atmosphere of isolated and solitary labor may frequently depict the professional lives of teachers; however, there are schools that appear to defy tradition. At Middle School, life is filled with the companionship, conversation, and comradery of fellow teachers. While each day begins with the traditional stop in the faculty lounge for the singularly performed tasks of signing-in, checking the mailbox, and perusing the bulletins, this initial individualism is soon exchanged for an oasis of teacher interaction and fellowship that colors the remainder of the school day and, representatively, teachers' professional school lives in this Middle School.

The team planning room is perhaps the most valued and used place for teachers at the Middle School. It is a hub of collegial activity. Every day four to seven team members congregate here for refreshments, a parent conference, a student conference, a regular team meeting, supples, or a visit with team members throughout the school day. The decor of this small space is a very solid indication of the team's collective identity. This is shared territory fashioned for sharing and interaction.

> Just outside the team planning room there is a display on the wall. There is a large sign which reads "Courtesy of the Dynamos," and I learn later that "Dynamo" is the team's logo. Underneath the sign there are posters with each of the team teachers' pictures and a written personal autobiography beneath each photo. Once inside the planning room, it is easy to see that teacher contact would be inevitable as the small room is furnished with

> rectangular tables fashioned into one large table with chairs facing inward.
>
> On one wall there is a bulletin board with a sign "D team Planning Room" and a calendar with dates for team events and meetings. The opposite side of the room is essentially a wall fabricated out of large cabinets which contain "team supplies." Taped to the outside of these cabinets are envelopes labeled with the team teachers' names. These are team member memo mailboxes. On the second bulletin near the entrance way there are notices, cartoons, teacher birthday cards and school news posted. Above it hangs a poster advertising a film called, "Stir Crazy" with two men in bird costumes captioned, "Two birds of a feather." The two has been crossed out and the word seven, for the number of team members, has been written in to replace it. Finally, there is a refreshments table with a coffee pot, coffee cups, coffee, tea and hot cocoa. All of the planning room's arrangements and decor have been a result of the team teachers' efforts.

Supporting the opportunity for interaction provided by the team planning room is the proximity of team members' classrooms. The four teachers responsible for instruction in the main academic areas on the team, are located in neighboring classrooms. Team members are continuously moving in and out of the nearby planning room where important papers, memos, messages and supplies are kept or are witnessed leaning in a neighboring teacher's doorway for conversation. In either case, there is an enormous amount of face to face contact among the team's teachers.

Spatial proximity and a common territory are further accented by a common daily schedule. While all teachers have an individual planning period every other day, teachers on a team have a shared planning time before and after the students' day as well as a shared lunch time. The teachers find themselves together in time as well as space.

As the teachers' use of the common planning room space and area revealed the team's collective identity, so the teachers' use of shared time reveals another dimension of teacher relationships. Describing the team's shared lunch time, one reading teacher explained:

> Lunch time is our big social time. As matter of fact we even have special lunches, you know. Like about once a month, we all bring in some things and eat together. We get a lot accomplished at lunch time talking about the kids. We don't necessarily sit there with the intention of talking about the kids but when you've just spent four hours with them, that's what you're thinking about. So that's what we talk about.

Sharing the teaching responsibility for the same group of students is the common task that contributes dramatically to teacher relationships at the Middle School. Since a sense of satisfaction in teaching is probably derived from students, having the same students encourages a team of teachers to become united in their efforts to produce satisfying results. Even in the private worlds of their classrooms, the teachers are never fully separated from their colleagues, as the shared world of the students connects them. As one team member described this phenomenon:

> After the students leave, I usually sit there two minutes and collect myself. Then we usually get together as a team and there is a lot of communication about frustrations and what's succeeding and what's not going on at that time...We talk about, you know, this is driving me crazy, or I'm about to lose my mind and that is when the team becomes very important. When a particular teacher is having a bad day, you know, we really pull around and lift their spirits. There is always a lot of that going on. There is also a lot of pats on the backs, if you've had a particularly good day and if something was really successful.

A fellow team member's remarks provide clarification and support:

> I just feel like there is almost no time here at school, whenever we're not talking about something that'll benefit the kids in some way. You know, it's not that we plan it that way, it just happens that way. You know, that's where our concern is.

Common responsibility seems to yield a common focus. The teachers are connected by the students they jointly manage and teach and the significance of this connection is unveiled in the many layers of teacher relationships. With teaching success or failure intricately interwoven with that of the other team members, team teacher relationships are colored by particular expectations. A social studies teacher explained:

> Everybody in this school is aware of the fact that a team, in order to do its job, has to work smoothly and cooperate and learn to get along. As a result, some things just happen spontaneously and other things we sort of plan. At Christmas and other times we have special get togethers; after school we get together socially and the team builds that kind of relationship. We're very close. I care a lot about my team members.

Valuing the collegial relationships within the team and working to create and maintain them are expectations that govern teacher relationships within the school.

Rewards that emerge out of the team interaction and fellowship often focus on success with the students either in discipline, positive relationships or successful instruction. Teachers help each other achieve these rewards within the team structure and so they are essentially shared rewards. Referring to her relationships with students, one teacher described it this way:

> Because of the way we do talk about the kids and share things that we find out, I feel like I know all the kids well just by what their other teachers and my team members have told me about them.

Another team member elaborated on it this way:

> On the team, if I become aware of a problem, it is very important for me to communicate with the other members of my team about that student and the problem. On our team, we're constantly involved in the process of trying to help students and they're the same students so we've got lots of help.

The expectation to communicate with fellow team members reaps that reward of knowing the students well enough to feel capable of helping them. As expressed by a third teacher who describes how the team makes teaching easier:

> I would say there are just certain things that the kids know,like we're all on this team, we're all very strict; we're very firm with the kids on certain things-mainly behavior. We just don't allow them to behave like animals and they know that. It just makes my teaching a lot easier...We have a lot of counseling that goes on in this team. And it just seems like the kids find somebody on the team who they can talk to, and for different kids it's a different teacher and whenever they need to talk to a teacher about something, the others always try to cover for that teacher so that they can have time to spend with this one student.

The planning and conducting of special activities which call upon the varied talents and interests of the team's teachers are viewed as team accomplishments and are a source of pride for those involved. In the spring over lunch, a team member reviewed the year:

> I've been thinking about all the neat things we've done this year. We had the election. Let's see, what else? Then we had the drug education unit, and the tornado unit. We still have our third and fourth field trips coming. And Camp Crystal of course, another teacher pipes in.

The fact that these activities were made possible by the cooperation of the team members contributes to the positive sentiments teachers have towards collegial cooperation. As a new team member described the lack of teacher communication at her former place of employment, she emphasized the importance of teacher communication at Middle School. In her words:

> Teachers weren't even allowed to sit in the lounge in the morning. At that school, communication wasn't valued at all. And I think that's the second most important thing here; of course, the kids are first, then I would say communicating with the other teachers is the second most important thing at this school, and I like that.

The fact that the teachers on a team have shared rewards either in improved student behavior, improved or enriched curriculum or improved student relationships, as well as shared difficulties, may tend to reduce the tendency towards professional individualism and isolation. Relationships among the team members are characterized by support, understanding and trust. There is even a "looking out for each other" theme which captures this collective identity.

Life on a team further encourages collegial relations by requiring teacher participation in collective tasks and decision-making. Decisions regarding team events, team rules, educational goals for the team, individual student plans and school policies are made by teachers with other teachers on the team. Weekly team meetings, before and after school, lunch hours and off times during the day are rich with decision-making activity and talk.

Common decisions are followed by common tasks to be performed. Team members generally divide the labor according to individual teacher talents and interests. The end of the school year's team awards assembly is a case in point. During a team meeting held in preparation for the event, the following occurred:

> Teacher Alice passes out special award sheets for the Team Hall of Fame awards to be given to students. Alice has designed the special award slips and has prepared enough copies for all of the team's teachers. Helen, the team leader, and meeting conductor, says that Dorothy (the physical education teacher on the team) will conduct a slide show which is a photographic collage of the entire school year. This will be done at the Awards Assembly. Then Helen said, "We'll have to decide on awards and the Team Hall of Fame."

Team decision making and task sharing precipitates the teachers into the sharing of their ideas, feelings, priorities, and time. This, of course, can and did produce tension from time to time when sentiments were divided; however, it also assured that team members knew a great deal about the fellow teachers on the team. In the same team meeting evidence of both the potential tension as well as wealth of interpersonal knowledge is found:

> Helen, the team leader says, "Team Hall of Fame. How do you want to do this? You want to call out names and then discuss each one?" Teacher Susan says, "Last year we gave too many of them, and it didn't mean as much." Helen responds, "Oh really, I didn't feel that way."

> And Helen says after a pause, "You all are going to have to say something." Seeing that Helen is frustrated, teacher Philip says gently, "Helen, calm down. We're thinking." Then teacher Dorothy adds, "O.K. we're ready now." Helen says, "Well, I'll go ahead because I've got a list I've already made. It's a mile long." So she begins with her list of students, one name at a time. She says, "Tim Post" and a team member follows, "He tries very hard to help teachers and people." Other team members chime in with "yes". They continued name by name with comments from various teachers throughout.

In this decision-making session and the countless others that fill the lives of these teachers, professional attitudes, beliefs and assumptions surface or are directly confronted. In many cases, conversations are extended into the personal worlds of teachers and so the realm of interpersonal knowledge among colleagues continues to be expanded. Team teachers know a great deal about the personal lives of their team members. In one typical lunch hour, conversations shifted back and forth between the two worlds of teachers: the professional and personal. Here's a poignant excerpt:

> It's lunch hour, and the teachers are seated together at a round lounge table. Susan says, "Philip, did you stay up all night?" Philip, "I had a friend who had a problem. You know how that goes." Susan responds, "I used to do that. I just don't do that anymore. I can't." Helen breaks in with comments about the special Career Day activities that are going on that day, "The army and the doctors really bothered me by not showing." Philip says, "The paramedics took them out to the ambulance." Susan adds, "I think they're doing a better job today than yesterday." The conversation shifts again to personal life information and Susan comments to Helen, "Yours (your stomach) has gotten little, it really has." Helen says, "It's getting there, thank you." Philip jokes, "Well, I'd like a closer examination." Helen chuckles.

The conversation progressed, and the topics included plans for the team's Greek luncheon, Philip's former teaching experience with an activity on Roman foods, reflections on the school year events, and a comment about a reading conference in New Orleans which triggered Philip's sharing a personal story about how he got drunk for the first time in New Orleans. This sequence of conversational events is typical and demonstrates how the professional and personal lives of the teachers were frequently disclosed in tandem. Another key example is drawn from a social studies teacher's interview on the team. He's describing the kinds of activities teachers do together:

> Well, we went to the Pizza and Brew last night and had a good time. When we went to check out Camp Crystal, we carpooled out there, and we had a really deep philosophical discussion about our goals in life, and it was a really good time. When we came back, we felt close, and we

> gave each other a big hug and went on our way. We have dinners together. We have luncheons together. We have parties. Alicia had a party. Anything else, Helen? Helen says, "Nothing you would want to put on tape."(laughs) Helen says, "We're friends as well as teachers."

The administration works to promote teacher interaction. Tradition has it that before each school year starts, and at Christmas, the principal entertains the staff in a social setting. According to his philosophy, "People who play together, work together." The principal also instituted a T.G.I.F. gathering where teachers would spend a few hours on Friday afternoon over cocktails in a local bar. This occurred several times during the school year. When it did, it was easy to observe that teams often went together. Hospitality is provided once a month by each team again focusing on the team. Most importantly, the administrative system used encourages team decision-making and interaction. The school is engineered by a steering committee comprised of administrators and team leaders as well as representative teachers from special areas. Decisions on school policy and procedures are made by this committee which meets biweekly. Team leaders report to the team members who are then engaged in decision-making. During several meetings of the steering committee, the principal said, "Take this back and discuss it with your teams." The expectation was that teachers ought to be involved and that productive ideas and decisions could be generated by their involvement.

The relationship established between the principal and teachers in some ways reflects these expectations. Dialogue is frequent, and teachers are expected to be willing and able to express their ideas, feelings and opinions. As the principal described his criteria for judging the overall effectiveness of his staff, he highlighted communication. In his words:

> Well, the major thing is communication skills because I don't think...a lot of other things are possible without good communication skills. Teachers are all encouraged to do well on their own, but most important they must cooperate and get along well with other staff.

Teachers echo back the same priority and offer statements of validity. A team leader describes her relationship with the principal in this way:

> About the same kind that I have with teachers. You know, we talk sometimes about the kids. We talk about the organization of the school, a lot of maintenance type things, about what I am allowed to do and not to do. And we also talk about ourselves, too, you know. I meet him as a person as well as a principal.

The principal's expectations for teacher participation in larger school affairs and authority are realized both formally and informally. The presence of the team leadership group is a key to the decentralized authority within the school. Individual staff members are likewise encouraged to make and execute plans for the whole school. The principal describes the formal system:

> On the individual level, anybody can come and speak to me or a team leader by themselves. But their next step is on a team basis which is seven or eight teachers who get together, and they talk about things, and often decisions are made on a team level. Then another step up is the Program Improvement Council where the team leaders or any individual can come with a concern that they have, and it can be expressed there which has an umbrella effect over the entire school, and administrators are a part of that too. So everyone hears it directly or indirectly. That's the main channels.

This is translated into a level of teacher involvement which is expressed as a school norm. Variation in the type of participation is more acceptable than is variety in the level of participation. The shared rewards of the team, plus the expectation for involvement beyond the teacher's classroom, loom large in determining the nature of teacher behavior and teacher relationships. In particular, there is evidence of collegial respect which emanates from interactions. Team members are frequently soliciting ideas and advice from one another. Visits to one another's classrooms are viewed favorably and not as intrusions. Finally, when asked about who they might invite to critique their teaching, the two focus teachers whose lives have been observed in detail, both reported, "a fellow team member or teacher."

Life for the teachers at Middle School is not characterized by isolation and individualism. The school's organization and administration support and promote collegial interaction. The results are observable efforts on the part of teachers to watch out for one another in a number of ways, to participate in social activities which encourage teacher fellowship and to sustain the collective identity and craft pride associated with the team. There is a sense of knowing what's expected, of personal authority and control and of peer support and collegiality that is created within the team's small interpersonal world.

Junior High

Teacher relationships at Junior High School were found to be of a strikingly different nature from those at the Middle School. From the start of a school day, until its finish, the teacher at the Junior High is an individual staff member doing an individual job. Major responsibilities, roles and tasks to be performed, as well as the organization of time and space, are determined on the basis of the individual teacher.

This individualistic conception of the teacher's role within the school is witnessed in many and varied dimensions of teachers' lives. While teachers have overlapping lunch periods, a teacher's daily schedule is viewed as an individual possession. Shared times are limited to the daily lunch period and available time before and after the instructional day. Formal meetings, such as faculty meetings, department meetings and parent conferences do bring teachers together during these times.

When those functions are not occurring, however, teachers are found working alone. Since the meetings generally take place once a month with shared conferences at about that same frequency, the teacher at the Junior High is more often found alone than with other teachers.

When teachers are together at the various meetings, they operate on a turn-taking basis. The common pattern of taking turns regarding tasks to be performed favors economy of time and personal energy over collective input, participation or interaction. As teacher Bonnie explained:

> Well, at department meetings you definitely can participate in decision-making or you can, say, in the 6th grade area. Well, when they're going to say, see a film, you know. Who's going to do what, when? You would have input -- most decisions like this would be at these meetings and whoever's instigating the movie will get it organized.

The decision to show the film was made by an individual supported by the group, and the responsibilities related were turned over to one teacher as well. This was repeated in a more significant example with regard to the entire year's social studies curriculum. The same teacher explained that her involvement was limited:

> Jane (one of three assigned to the curriculum committee) had been teaching world history for a long time and so she said if you want me to, I'll set up a schedule for us, and we said all right, because we hadn't been doing that, and definitely not with this book, this new textbook. So she set up the schedule and we had input in that we could say that this is not good, but until you go through it, you don't know what's good and what's bad. So, I really think a teacher is better off if she sets up her own time schedule.

This is a shared focus for department members in terms of their common responsibility to execute correctly the agreed upon curriculum; however, there are few related shared tasks or decisions that emerge in the context of the department's role in school affairs.

The school's administration contributes to an individualistic teacher orientation by operating in many respects with a similar relationship of mutual isolation. When asked to talk about how decisions get made in the school, the assistant principal proclaims cheerfully, "Henry (school principal) says you're going to do that, and it gets done," and adds, "We're kind of like the team management concept. Although Henry is in charge, he will never, at least I don't think he will, make a decision without consulting us." Communication among the three administrators is further described like this:

> We sit down and hash them (decisions) out and talk about it and give our views. I look at things a certain way,

> Mr. Hope looks at things a certain way, and Mr. Cole looks at things a certain way. We sit down and put in our input. He (the principal) will even go out and solicit input from teachers.

Teacher input is solicited in a number of ways. The principal will comb the halls stopping in to chat with several teachers about the decision in question. On a more formal basis, the principal meets with a teacher steering committee made up of the department chairpersons. The meetings are held about once a month, and the chairpersons generally take notes on the information the principal reports. This information is then reported to the department's teacher members. The principal does not expect teachers to meet with each other regularly for the discussion of decisions to be made. Keeping the teachers informed and listening to concerns and complaints as they are voiced is the main administrative operation. Teachers do not meet regularly nor do they spend their common time on discussions of job related issues and decisions. It is not expected nor is it a necessary part of the school's administration.

Part of the reason why teachers don't interact can be found in the structure of the administration as just noted. The administration's attitude towards collective teacher activity yields another clue. As the principal explained, "This school has got a lot of teachers who are really good at what they do, but they like to do their own thing, and they don't like anybody to interfere." Supporting their sentiments he says, "Take the teachers alone and they're fine but together and there's no telling." This fundamental mistrust of task-related teacher interaction may be precisely why there is no organizational mechanism designed for it.

Teacher leadership within the school highlights working alone rather than together. Teachers do not expect to work together. A curriculum committee of three teachers designed to prepare curriculum guides for all areas, prepare for the school's evaluation and assist with organizing available materials for teaching was scheduled to work together daily in an area of the building. While these teachers did work together on certain tasks, the majority of their tasks, it was believed, could best be handled individually, as Jane explains:

> We started off meeting the three of us on a regular basis together each day, each third period. And then things broke down so that we were, you know, Sandra was doing some things with language arts and reading which really Debbie and I weren't familiar, couldn't do, you know, as well and Debbie was working a lot with the Science Fair and the science curriculum. And then I started doing, and we sort of all branched off. It was just easier then to kind of go our separate ways. We've met with Henry on a fairly regular basis.

The pattern appears to be one of individuals operating as individuals, together. Keeping company with other adults at school does not assure that relationships will be nurtured, valued, and recognized. In fact, the individual is essentially more important here than relationships between teachers, administrators or both. The key is getting the job done, and labor is frequently divided up by individuals.

The way in which parent conferences were conducted highlights this dimension of school life. Most often an individual classroom teacher would conduct parent conferences when a student was having trouble in his/her classroom. These conferences were one on one with teacher and parent, occasionally involving the student as well. Frequently, parent conferences would be arranged by the guidance department when all of a child's teachers were to be included. These were conferences which involved the county's school psychologist for the assessment and evaluation of a child's difficulties in school. Having observed this second type of conference, it was clear that the responsibility for the conference rested with the guidance counselor. Each teacher's ideas were solicited with little opportunity for dialogue among the teachers involved. Again, the individual superceded the collective.

Lunch is a shared time and activity. In the teachers' lounge, teachers gather daily for the singular purpose of eating lunch. Lounge conversations are more often social than job related and focus on topics of conversation which can be adequately discussed within the lunch period:

> I take a seat at the round table. Two math teachers are talking about math materials. Math teacher (1), "Did you see the math materials? Weren't they neat." Math teacher (2), "I'd like to buy some. Maybe we can order them?" Math teacher (1), "Yeah." Two science teachers are seated next to one another. The female science teacher says, "Congratulations on your article in the journal!" Male science teacher responds, "Thanks, Debbie." The female science teacher addresses the whole table, "I have a good recommendation for the school calendar change next year. Let's have the teachers' work day directly after the holidays so teachers could get organized before the kids return." Another teacher says, "That's good so maybe we should all suggest it so it would be more highly considered."

During this same lunch hour the very next day, none of these topics was discussed, and very few of the topics discussed at lunch were ever carried over from one day to the next. A survey of lunch topics included recipes, local news, whole school problems, discipline problems and schoolwide events.

This temporary quality of lounge talk seems to be satisfying to the teachers. As the teacher Bonnie remarked about their relationships:

> Well, I think since all sixth grade teachers must have lunch at the same time, we usually hobnob as to problems. We also share things that help. I think the relationships of the 6th grade teachers is pretty nice. No dog eat dog, no pandy stuff or if there is, I don't know about it.

Perhaps as a consequence, teachers feel limited in their knowledge of other teachers' school and personal lives. As teacher Jane remarked:

> I am a teacher here, and I really don't know what they do in foreign language, for example. The

> foreign language teacher is part time so that's partly why, but that's really true in a lot of cases.

Teachers are particularly reluctant to speak for one another regarding educational beliefs and practices. When asked if other teachers shared her educational beliefs, Bonnie responded, "I don't know. I really don't know about that; I can't tell." Echoing Bonnie, Jane said, "I'm not sure. I imagine so?" Individual differences and variations are expected. As the principal explained when he was asked about the existence of a staff philosophy. "There are forty teachers and about as many different philosophies." When asked about the qualities sought in the teachers hired, the principal repeatedly referred to expertise in the subject to be taught. Getting along well with fellow staff members or the ability to cooperate and collaborate with other teachers was not identified as needed teacher qualities. Consistent with the other findings as described thus far, teaching effectiveness at Junior High is not dependent on teacher interaction or fellowship within the school.

Opportunities to share personal philosophies or ideologies are rare. As noted earlier, regular daily teacher interaction is limited to a brief lunch-time encounter. In addition, these meetings are characterized by conversations that are temporary and not task-related. Most importantly, very few decisions regarding the daily execution of instruction depend on teacher interaction. Decisions in the school are most often made by individuals and not groups. Classroom decisions rest with the individual teacher, department decisions rest with the department chairperson, and administrative decisions rest with the principal.

Teachers are not connected by common responsibilities or tasks in common time and space in a way which promotes interaction. Moreover, interaction is not a prerequisite for teaching success. In fact, it is viewed as a necessary but time-consuming obligation. Consequently, teacher relationships are not expected and nurtured. They may develop as a fringe benefit. As teacher Jane reported,

> I have a particular group of friends that there are; a group of us that usually go out, just the girls, once a month right after payday. These relationships have built up over the years partly from outside of school. One is my neighbor and one's ex-husband works with my husband and we may go to the same church with some others.

Teachers take pride in their students' attention to subject matter, quiet and orderly classrooms and being liked by students, former and current. While these rewards are not unlike those of the teachers at the middle school, their achievement is not associated with collegial interaction or teacher fellowship. The rewards are viewed as outcomes of personal expertise and good fortune in circumstances beyond teacher control.

Life for the teachers at the junior high school is characterized by individualism. The school's organization and administration support this individualistic teacher orientation. Teachers do not expect interaction with other teachers to be a major dimension of their professional lives. They acknowledge that the responsibility for teaching is an individual responsibility, and the successful operation of a school requires that each member uphold his or her responsibility.

Summary of Teacher Relationships. Colleague relationships were quite different in the two schools. Teachers at the middle school valued colleague relationships, expected support and assistance from team members and acknowledged many of their beliefs and practices as shared. The team members served as a kind of admiring audience of supportive peers. Connected by students they shared, team members were intimately involved in one another's success. Shared team tasks and decisions and frequent teacher contacts produced a collective identity basic to each individual's professional world view. Teachers referred to their ideas, practices and beliefs as "ours," and used the pronoun "we" more often than "I" in describing themselves and their work.

Colleague relationships at the junior high were altogether different. Teachers not only had less contact with fellow teachers, the contact they did have was brief and seldom task-related. Consequently, teachers spent most of their school time alone, only sharing general gripes and observations which could be subjects for brief conversations never to be continued. Teachers did have school friends, but these friendships developed outside the school. They provided a support system for teachers when they felt burdened; they seemed to serve as an empathic rather than admiring audience. For the most part, the daily teaching experience was one of isolation and individualism - an every man for himself affair.

Life as a team member contributes to the middle school teacher's sense of efficacy. It provided frequent teacher contact, opportunities to discuss the students that teachers have in common, and it allows experimentation and the testing of new ideas. The team provides its teachers with comradery, support and friendship. Teachers view themselves as part of a collective which mitigates the burden of individual failure while bolstering professional self-esteem. Perhaps most important, the team is a decision-making unit. Teachers must make decisions collectively and must continually share ideas, attitudes, beliefs, views and feelings. It may be this continual dialogue among teachers that promotes the teachers' view that their work is significant. Moreover, the challenge of joint decision-making may provide a sense of power and control not found in the isolated teaching experience typical in the junior high school.

Working in the junior high's structure provided little or no opportunity for comradery or affiliation with a collective identity. Teachers spent most of their time alone and shared very few dimensions of school life with fellow colleagues. The burden of failure was largely an individual matter. The range of decisions made by the department was limited to that of curriculum, and teachers generally did not discuss beliefs and ideas at length. The department serviced efficiency and did not encourage teacher interaction. Moreover, the department was not seen as a unit involved in school decision-making. While department chairpersons did meet from time to time with the administration, those meetings did not deal with school philosophy and policy. The department chairpersons were spokespersons for the department's curriculum concerns, and there was seldom an opportunity for discussion of other school matters. Department membership did not require extensive involvement and participation. What teachers held in common was the curriculum, and individuals could execute the same curriculum with little dialogue between fellow members. The tasks they performed could best be done alone. This may account for the individualistic orientation that prevails at the junior high and perhaps simultaneously reinforces the focus on procedures over people.

The Principal. Teacher differences at the two schools were clearly reflected in the attitudes and behaviors of the school principals. These differences were particularly evident in the decision-making structures they established and their perceptions of teachers.

The principal at the middle school described the outstanding teacher as one who "cares about kids, can communicate effectively and is a good role model for students." He expects his teachers to share the responsibility of school decision-making and distributes decisions to the teams. Teachers are viewed as "professionals" whose ideas are needed and valued and whose roles and responsibilities move into the larger school world. Teachers had a semi-collaborative relationship with the principal who was seen as a co-worker. This fraternal relationship left the principal open to criticism, and the teachers less protected.

At the junior high, the principal described the outstanding teacher as "one who is really knowledgeable about the subject matter to be taught and really excited about teaching it, a good classroom manager and someone who understands the middle school students." He expected teachers to be prepared for their work in the classroom but limited decision-making to that domain. Teacher opinions and ideas were solicited from time to time, but most important decisions were left to the principal and his administrative staff. The principal's relationship with teachers was paternal. He took a protective stance attempting to make teaching easier, more pleasant, and less stressful for his faculty. He demanded little from teachers outside the classroom and viewed the majority of his faculty with a fundamental uncertainty about their capabilities, particularly in school decision-making. Teachers were often underestimated but in return were protected. Displayed in his office was a poster which read, "How can we soar like eagles when you've got to fly with a bunch of turkeys?"

Whether or not the world views of teachers developed in the context of the schools or prior to their employment is a question that can not be answered by this study.[1] Teachers did, however, choose to stay in their respective schools. Despite initial teacher differences, principal perceptions of teachers probably contributed to the different attitudes teachers held at the two schools. At the middle school the principal believed his teachers were capable professionals and conveyed this confidence to his faculty. On the other hand, the principal at the junior high had questions about the capabilities of his teachers and felt at times they had to be treated "much like the students."

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[1] Certainly teachers' background experience, life events, developmental needs and personality must be taken into account. The teachers at the middle school were younger than the teachers at the junior high. Their former teaching experiences were in schools that were positive places to work. The school's history was characterized by a stable administration, notoriety and the opening of a new school with a new, enthusiastic staff. Teachers were involved in changes made throughout the years and they saw the school as a product of their communal efforts.
Teachers at the junior high had spent the major part of their teaching careers in the school with a history characterized by frequent administrative changes, racial strife, upheaval and discipline problems. These teachers did not feel involved in the shaping of the school. These battles did not bring faculty together; they wore faculty out.
The fact that the teachers at the middle school have had the opportunity to be involved in the planning and implementing of school changes may account for some of their perceived sense of personal confidence and influence, whereas at the junior high teachers spent most of their years adjusting to changes rather than participating in them.

Multi-Age Grouping. Contrasting teacher emphasis on students in the middle school and curriculum in the junior high may be more related to multi-age grouping than to any other single difference. At the middle school teachers had the same students for three years. They viewed the three-year experience as the most satisfying part of their job because it allowed them to see students grow and change over time. In three years, growth is generally dramatic in all areas of development. Perhaps teachers have a better chance of feeling exalted about their work and maintain their focus on student development when they teach youngsters for an extended time and can witness this dramatic growth.

The middle school teachers were very aware of the impact that the extended three-year relationship with students had on their sense of efficacy.

> Interviewer: Is there anything in particular about the school's organization that you feel is important?
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> Teacher: Well, the most important thing is the multi-age grouping. . . to me that's the single most important thing at this school because, well, there are other ways you can accomplish the same thing, but essentially you get to have the same kids for the whole time that they're in school. You don't have to spend the first two months of the year getting to know 160 new kids, because 3/4 of them you already know. And it really makes a difference - you know their parents and everything.
>
> Second teacher: I'd like to talk about teaching students for three years. The big advantages are, first, it takes a long time to find out what really makes some students click and what really is going to be a successful technique working with them. A lot of times that takes you half a year, sometimes even longer. By the time half a year is over, you're going to have half a year working with them and then the next teacher has to go through the same thing. There really is no communication between the 6th and 7th grade teachers. She might say "Oh, boy, there are real problems now," or usually negative things. Or you might off-handedly say "I successfully did this or whatever." But there is no established use of communication between teachers at different grade levels. So by having them for three years I may be able to find out what will be successful and then institute it at least for two and a half years. The second advantage that I see is when we

> run into a problem in most schools with a student that just seems to frustrate you on every hand, you write him off. If you get through six months or four and a half months or whatever it is and if you haven't succeeded you say "Well, all I have is four and a half to go," and you just slide through the rest of the year. You can't do that here because you know that you've got two and a half years to face. Now, maybe after a year and a half I do the same thing. I don't think that we've got the same inclination, however. I think you have much more encouragement in the three-year time span. Maybe after two and a half years, if you haven't succeeded, you aren't going to succeed anyway. But six months is really sometimes all it takes to find out what's successful. Therefore, you're encouraged to institute your program rather than write them off.

For the teachers at the junior high who only have students for one year, student and teacher achievement are less obvious. Teachers focus on short term results in curriculum mastery and test grades. Chances are that the teachers only glean that sense of heroic pride when a student returns years later for a visit. The entire staff at the middle school took an interest in making school enjoyable for students, while the staff at the junior high did not. No doubt, teachers' notions of students' improvability account for this, in part. However, the multi-age grouping and teacher-student guidance program in the middle school resulted in teachers spending more time with students outside of the classroom. This produced a focus on teacher-student relationships, and in those relationships teachers were faced with students' honest feelings about school and learning. Recognition that school wasn't much fun for most students seemed to be a part of teachers' concerted efforts to make it otherwise. The indifference of teachers in the junior high regarding their responsibility for generating student enthusiasm could be explained by their infrequent opportunities to schedule fun into the school day. There were very few times during a school year when classes were suspended for a special student event. This was not so at the middle school. In addition, teachers did not have as much contact with students in a non-academic setting. The teacher-student relationships were pre-empted by academic demands, grades, and changing bells. Teachers may have been able to avoid the real concerns and feelings of their students. This difference in orientation could be due in part to teachers' role perception and their focus towards learning. Can and should learning be fun? The junior high teachers did not seem to recognize themselves as motivators - motivating students was not a deeply felt role.

Finally, the administration's attitudes about fun in school may also help account for the lack of fun (i.e., ornamentation of halls and walls, celebrations, ceremonies and field trips for all and other than for rewards) in the junior high. Whereas the middle school's administration supports teachers' efforts to produce fun and encourages it as well, it is generally carefully scrutinized in the junior high. There is a kind of fear of wild, unruly student behavior in the event of fun and a prevailing notion that a rigid schedule keeps both students and teachers in line.

Conclusion

One function of qualitative research is to provide promising hypotheses for further quantitative study. Another function of such research is to investigate the human dynamics that underlie quantitative findings of statistical significance. The study reported here contributes to both the above-mentioned functions. The findings lead us to hypothesize that school organization, leadership, and ethos contribute to the maintenance of high-efficacy attitudes among teachers. We believe this is accomplished because teaming, multi-age grouping, and a shared, growth-centered[2] approach to education serve to lessen professional self-doubt among teachers and to diminish the self-protective, low-efficacy ideologies that accompany such doubts. In order to maintain high efficacy attitudes teachers need to see evidence that low SES students can learn and that teachers are contributing to that learning.

This hypothesis is bolstered by the comments of a middle school teacher in response to the question, "How does your teaching situation, that is, the organization . . . affect your capacity to achieve your teaching goals?"

> Basically . . . there is no way it hinders it. It only furthers it. The AA helps tremendously in getting close and being able to teach some of the lessons I want to teach about being a total person. The interdisciplinary cooperation between team members helps us do things we would otherwise be unable to do. The multi-age grouping gives me a student for three years. I really get to know him, can really help him, really influence his life. You know, when you're passing through, you don't get the same opportunities. So, I can't think of any way that [the school organization] has hindered . . . it has only furthered my teaching goals. I guess the main aspects are interdisciplinary grouping, multi-age grouping and AA.

There is probably no one best school organization for the promotion and maintenance of teacher efficacy. We hypothesize that faculty efficacy scores will increase to the degree that the school organization provides common teacher experiences and requires sustained faculty interchanges that center on solving the learning problems of students and improving the performance of teachers.

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[2] We refer here to all aspects of child growth: social, psychological and cognitive.

Chapter 4

Measurement of Teachers' Sense of Efficacy

Introduction

Our understanding of teachers' sense of efficacy is dependent upon the development of reliable and valid measures of the construct. However, the design of valid measures of personal beliefs is fraught with difficulty (Nunnally, 1978).

Our initial use of the two-item Rand teacher efficacy measure in our study of the relationship of school organization and teacher efficacy in two organizationally different middle schools (see Chapter 3) revealed problems with the Rand measure of efficacy. While the middle school had a more positive school climate than the junior high, measured by Brookover's scales of Teacher Expectations and Teacher-Student Commitment to Improve, attitudes that are very similar to efficacy attitudes, only a non-significant trend toward higher efficacy was found for the modern middle school teachers ($F_{(1,46)}=2.82$, $p<.10$). Our major conclusion from the middle school study was that the total score based on the two items used in the Rand studies was not likely to be useful in small sample studies of teaching, since the skewness and the limited variability ($M=6.88$, $SD=1.51$) in scores probably restricted the possibility of discovering relationships between teacher sense of efficacy and other relevant variables. Response distributions for the total score of the efficacy items for each school are presented in Table 19. Examination of this table reveals that 50% of the middle school teachers scored 8 or above compared to 30% of the junior high teachers, and, in contrast, 32% of the middle school teachers scored 6 or less compared to 55% of junior high teachers. These data suggest that school differences in teachers' sense of efficacy might have been detected by a more reliable (longer) instrument.

Qualitative analyses of the classroom behavior of four teachers scoring high on efficacy and four low scoring teachers convinced us that teacher sense of efficacy is associated with teacher behaviors that are likely to affect student attitudes and achievement. Teachers with a low sense of efficacy made statements to students indicating they did not expect the students to perform well; they were more likely to ignore or withhold assistance from students they felt were apathetic, unmotivated, or unable. They were also more likely to accept and praise incomplete or inaccurate answers from students they considered of "low ability" than were the high efficacy teachers. On the other hand, our classroom observation made us very cautious and skeptical of the validity of a self-report measure such as the Rand instrument, since one high scoring efficacy teacher was, by all current behavioral criteria of effectiveness, an ineffective teacher. She was unable to control her class and was given to bitter outbursts of sarcasm and futility.

Table 19

Distribution of Response by School on Two-Item Rand Efficacy Scale

	Middle School			Junior High		
X Score	f(X) Frequency	P(X) Percent	CP(X) Cumulative Percent	f(X) Frequency	P(X) Percent	CP(X) Cumulative Percent
3	0	0	0	1	5	5
4	1	7	7	1	5	10
5	0	0	7	3	15	25
6	7	25	32	6	30	55
7	5	18	50	3	15	70
8	11	39	89	4	20	90
9	2	7	96	2	10	100
10	1	4	100	0	0	100

Concluding that teachers' sense of efficacy is likely to be related to teachers' classroom behaviors yet concerned that a more sensitive instrument was needed, we decided to take a multi-method approach to measurement of efficacy based on theoretical as well as methodological concerns. From a methodological standpoint, a multi-method approach was considered important because of the problems implicit in self-report instrument -- especially the problem of social desirability bias and the likelihood of an ego-defensive response. Our theoretical perspective for constructing multiple methods for assessing teachers' sense of efficacy was based on Albert Bandura's (1977; 1978) recent formulation of self-efficacy as the cognitive mechanism which mediates behavior. In Bandura's social learning theory, it is assumed that an individual's initiation of and persistence in a behavior is determined by the person's sense of personal efficacy. According to this formulation, however, self-efficacy is not a global construct similar to popular notions of self-concept; it is rather a cognitive mechanism for processing efficacy information, referring to a dynamic, multi-dimensional process, resulting in situation-specific efficacy expectations.

Our conception of teachers' sense of efficacy, represented in Figure 5, consists of a hierarchically organized, multi-dimensional model. The dimension located on the left of the model labeled "teaching efficacy" refers to teachers' beliefs about the general relationship between teaching and learning. To give a specific example of how teachers might come to differ on this dimension: a teacher who is convinced by Arthur Jensen's (1981) analysis of ability differences in students will tend to have a low sense of teaching efficacy while a teacher convinced of Benjamin Bloom's (1978) position on student learning ability will have a high sense of teaching efficacy. These expectation differences will be reflected in teachers' specific expectations for specific students in specific situations. On the opposite side of the model is "personal efficacy," the teacher's general sense of effectiveness as a teacher. Finally, the most specific level of conceptualization, and, consequently, the best predictor of teacher behavior is the teachers' sense of "personal teaching efficacy," representing an integration of personal efficacy and teaching efficacy. It is important to keep these dimensions separate conceptually, because it is likely that the most appropriate teacher change strategy will depend on the origin of the sense of inefficacy. A teacher convinced of her own ability to teach but doubtful of her students' ability to learn would require a different intervention from a teacher who is convinced of her students' ability to learn, but doubtful of her own competence as a teacher. In simple terms, personal teaching efficacy is reflected in the teacher statement, "I can't motivate these kids;" however, the statement may be attributable to teacher sense of teaching efficacy, that is, the belief that "these kids can't be motivated " or teacher sense of personal efficacy, that is, the belief that "I personally can't motivate."

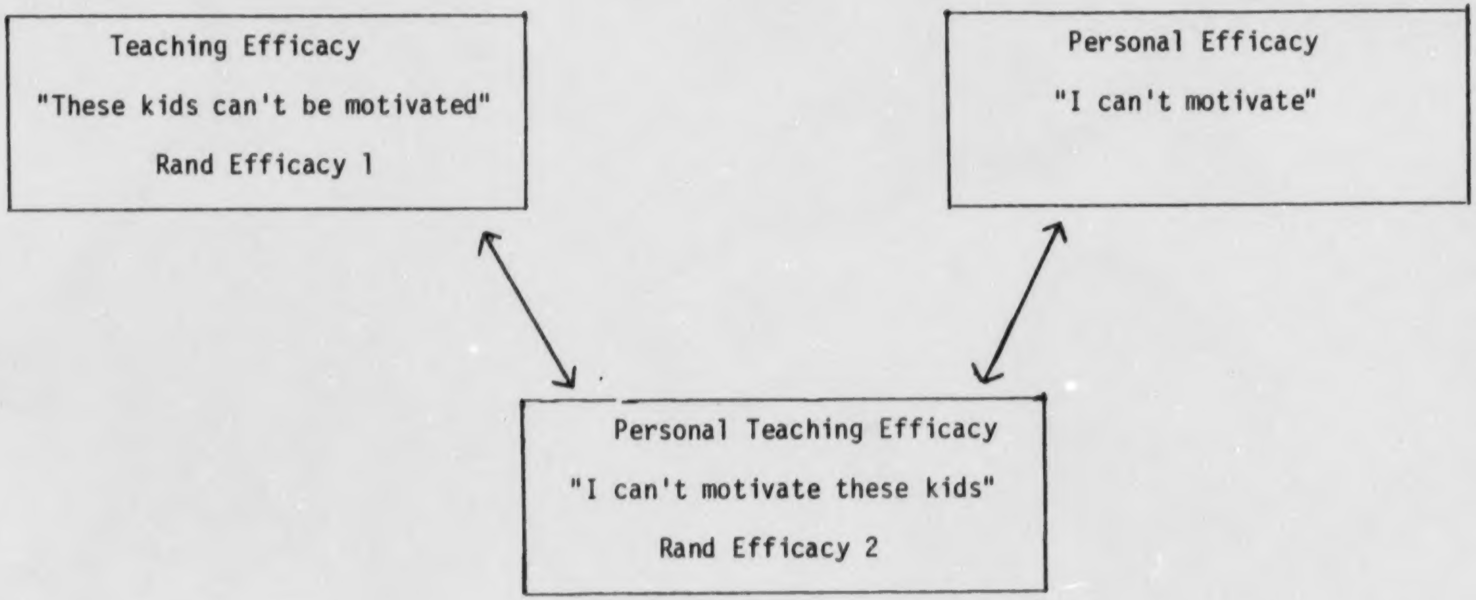
Teaching Efficacy
"These kids can't be motivated"
Rand Efficacy 1
Personal Efficacy
"I can't motivate"
Personal Teaching Efficacy
"I can't motivate these kids"
Rand Efficacy 2

Figure 5. Teachers' Sense of Efficacy: The Measurement Model

Teaching Efficacy and Personal Teaching Efficacy: Conceptually Distinct Dimensions

Tentative support for the conceptual distinction between teaching efficacy and personal teaching efficacy is evident in the correlations between Rand Efficacy 1 and Rand Efficacy 2. The two Rand items have been significantly correlated ($p<.05$) in only one of the five samples we have studied. See Table 20. It is interesting to note that the significant relationship ($r=.36$, $p<.05$) was obtained in the sample of high school basic skill teachers. It seems reasonable to speculate that teaching students with a long history of school failure is likely to increase the weight that teaching efficacy assumes in the personal teaching efficacy of such teachers. Given the general lack of correlation between the two items, our conceptualization of conceptually distinct dimensions of teacher sense of efficacy seems warranted.

Additional support for the conceptual distinction between teaching efficacy and personal teaching efficacy is provided by the significant correlation obtained between two measures of teaching efficacy -- Rand Efficacy 1 and the Brookover measure (see Appendix C) of Teacher Expectations and Teacher-Student Commitment to Improve ($r=-.30$, $p<.04$; the signis negative because a low score on the Brookover measure indicates a strong belief in students' ability to learn) and the non-significant correlation between the Brookover measure and Rand Efficacy 2 ($r=-.12$, n.s.), the measure of personal teaching efficacy.

Alternative Approaches to Measurement of Efficacy

In an effort to develop more useful measures of efficacy, we explored several approaches:

(1) an expanded Rand measure

(2) a self-report measure of personal teaching efficacy

(3) a stress measure designed to serve as a proxy for efficacy

Webb Efficacy Scale

The intent of the expanded Rand measure (see Appendix D), hereafter referred to as the Webb Efficacy Scale after its author, was threefold:

(1) to maintain the narrow conceptualization of sense of efficacy utilized in the Rand studies, that is, an estimation of the teacher's belief that s/he can influence student learning despite difficult circumstances.

(2) to increase the measure's reliability by developing a longer instrument, and

Table 20

Correlation of Rand Efficacy 1 with Rand Efficacy 2 in Six Samples

Sample	r	p
Middle School Teachers (N=48)	.26	.07
High School Basic Skills Teachers (N=37)	.36	.05
Elementary Teachers (N=45)	.15	.32
Middle School Teachers (N=45)	.05	.75
High School Teachers (N=62)	.03	.81
Undergraduate Teacher Education Majors (N=61)	.20	.13

(3) to reduce the problem of the social desirability bias by using a forced-choice format with items matched for social desirability (Edwards, 1970; Zavala, 1965).

The results of our analyses of the Webb Efficacy Scale are somewhat discouraging from a psychometric perspective. The first problem we encountered was teachers' resistance to choosing between the item alternatives. To determine if there were certain items that teachers were particularly resistant to answering, we tabulated all the items omitted by our respondents. Table 21 presents these data. While some items were omitted more often than others, the problem occurs across all items. In each of our samples over 10% of our respondents failed to answer at least one of the seven items. The second problem lies in the lack of internal consistency of the scale. In three samples of teachers, the KR-20 reliability estimate has ranged from .33 to .51. While this problem may be due, in part, to the need for a longer questionnaire, given the dichotomous nature of the items (Nunnally, 1978), the factorial complexity of the instrument appears similar to the Rand items in confounding the 'teaching efficacy' and 'personal teaching efficacy' dimensions. This can be seen in correlations between the Webb items and the two Rand items (Table 22). The two Webb items that seem to represent the personal teaching efficacy dimension (items 3 and 7) are significantly correlated with Rand Efficacy 2, the personal teaching efficacy measure. The lack of correlation between the Webb items devised to measure 'teaching efficacy,' and Rand Efficacy 1, the teaching efficacy item, and the low intercorrelations among the Webb items suggest that our effort to develop an internally consistent measure of teaching efficacy was unsuccessful. The Brookover measure remains the best instrument currently available in terms of internal consistency for the measurement of teaching efficacy.

Personal Teaching Efficacy Vignettes

A self-report measure of personal teaching efficacy was constructed to represent a broader conceptualization of efficacy. The Rand questions focus on the teachers' belief in his/her ability to 'get through' to students despite motivational or environmental obstacles. Teachers' sense of efficacy could be defined in the broader sense to encompass teachers' confidence in their ability to carry out all the responsibilities of teaching. To determine if this more comprehensive conceptualization of efficacy is useful, a 50-item questionnaire (see Appendix E) was constructed on the basis of teachers' responses obtained from a "Teaching Incidents Essay" and a "Role Perception" item from our initial middle school study. (See page 38 of this report.) The dimensions of the teacher's role that we derived from teachers' responses to these items were the following: academic instruction, affective instruction, discipline, motivation, socialization of students, planning, evaluation, and work with parents. Most of the incidents we constructed were based on teachers' actual responses to the Teaching Incidents Essay which asked them to describe their most and least effective teaching experience. We were hopeful that situational vignettes would elicit more teacher variability, in

Table 21

Webb Efficacy Items Omitted by Teachers

Sample	Webb Items						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
High School Basic Skill Teachers (N=38) 7 teachers omitted at least one item	1	2	3	1	3	0	1
Middle School Teachers (N=64) 9 teachers omitted at least one item	1	3	3	3	4	1	3

Table 22

Correlations of Webb Efficacy Items with Rand Efficacy 1 and 2
(N=98)

Webb Items	Rand Efficacy 1 r	Rand Efficacy 1 p	Rand Efficacy 2 r	Rand Efficacy 2 p
1. Every child is reachable	.04	.67	.16	.09
2. Heterogenous classes best	.22	.03	.18	.07
3. I'm best with low motivated students	.02	.87	.37	.0001
4. Develop low ability students' academic skills	-.28*	.005	.12	.23
5. Keep low motivated students in school	.15	.15	.16	.10
6. Low ability students will graduate	.14	.15	.05	.59
7. I feel confident about making a difference with students.	.24	.01	.28	.004

*This item had a mean of 1.15 and a standard deviation of .36 (the lowest mean and standard deviation of any item). The negative correlation is probably due to random error attributable to the limited variance obtained for this item.

that they provide a concrete referent that teachers have probably confronted in some form in their teaching experience and are inherently difficult so that a teacher need not feel pressure to report that each of these situations could be handled expertly. An example of the Efficacy Vignettes is presented below:

> Because of repeated failure, one of your students confides to you that she has given up and will attend school only until she can find a way to drop out. How effective would you be in persuading her that she can be successful in school?
>
> 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
> extremely ineffective — extremely effective

Hypothesizing that personal teaching efficacy would be comprised of the various teacher role dimensions that we had identified, we expected to find a factorially complex structure in this instrument. The internal consistency of the instrument was so high, $r_{\alpha}=.95$, as to cast doubt on this assumption; however, the high internal consistency obtained with this instrument may simply be an artifact of a social desirability or ego defensiveness bias embedded in the self-report nature of this instrument rather than an indication of the unidimensionality of personal teaching efficacy. Also, as Cronbach (1951) noted, alpha is an index of common factor concentration among items, not necessarily an indicant of single factor concentration. This question needs further research.

Given the internal consistency of the 50 vignettes, we decided to reduce the number of vignettes to 15 (see Appendix F), selecting those items with a high correlation with the total vignette score and a comparatively low mean and large variance (since item scores on this instrument, like the Rand, were skewed to the left). With the reduction in the number of items we still maintained an internal consistency estimate ranging from .83 to .86 in three administrations of the instrument. The lack of any significant correlations between Rand Efficacy 1 and the 15 vignette items contrasted with 7 significant correlations with Rand Efficacy 2 suggests that, as intended, the efficacy vignettes are representative of the dimension of personal teaching efficacy rather than teaching efficacy (see Table 23).

Teacher Efficacy: A Norm or Self-Referenced Construct?*

Nunnally (1978) argued that individuals can respond more accurately when asked to make a comparative judgment, since most people are not accustomed to making absolute judgments in daily life. Thus, a rating scale using a norm-referenced or comparative format, with responses ranging from "much less effective than most teachers" (1) through "about as effective as other teachers" (4) to "much more effective than most teachers" (7), should result in a more valid efficacy rating than the self-referenced format we used in the initial design of the efficacy

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* The authors are grateful to Dianne Buhr who designed and carried out the data collection and analysis of this study.

Table 23

Correlations of Efficacy Vignette Items with Rand Efficacy 1 and 2
(N=105)

Vignette	Rand Efficacy 1		Rand Efficacy 2	
	r	p	r	p
1. Discipline	.16		.07	
2. Work with parents	.09		.20	.03
3. Planning	.07		.15	
4. Socialization	-.03		.25	.008
5. Discipline	-.007		.13	
6. Motivation	-.10		.23	.02
7. Motivation	.10		.14	
8. Motivation	.03		.21	.03
9. Planning	-.03		.26	.007
10. Motivation	.01		.29	.002
11. Socialization	.08		.12	
12. Motivation	.05		.22	.02
13. Evaluation	.08		.04	
14. Planning	.06		.11	
15. Evaluation	.18		.02	
Total Vignette Score	.10		.28	.005

vignette instrument. It was expected that the vignette form using this rating scale would correlate more highly with the criterion Rand items than a form using the absolute or self-referenced response mode.

Because the vignette measure is a self-report instrument, it is likely to be subject to social desirability bias. According to Nunnally (1978), much of the variance on self-inventory measures can be explained by social desirability; that is, a person' tendency to say good rather than bad things about him or herself. In a pilot study using the self-referenced approach to the vignette instrument, a correlation of .46 ($p<.05$) was obtained between the vignette score and a measure of social desirability (the Marlowe-Crowne). The use of a norm or comparative approach to efficacy should aid individuals to judge their own effectiveness more accurately, reducing the influence of social desirability. It was expected, therefore, that the vignette form using this format would not show a significant correlation with a measure of social desirability.

Twenty-five items with a high correlation with the total vignette score were selected from the original 50-item measure. The vignette measure consisted of these items. Two forms of the vignette measure were prepared, identical except that the self-referenced approach was used on one form while the norm-referenced approach was used on the second form. Forty-six graduate students with at least one year of full-time teaching experience who were attending education classes at the University of Florida completed one of the vignette measures. The two forms were randomly distributed within classes of subjects. In addition to the vignette measure, the two Rand items and the Marlowe-Crowne Scale of Social Desirability were administered.

Means for the self- and norm-referenced measures were not significantly different at the .05 level. Internal consistency was high for both the self- ($r_\alpha=.95$) and norm-referenced ($r_\alpha=.94$) instruments. However, the norm-referenced approach was significantly correlated with the total efficacy score as measured by the Rand items ($r=.43$, $p<.05$), while the self-referenced vignettes were not significantly correlated with either Rand item or with the total score for the Rand items ($r=-.16$, $p<.05$).

The correlation between the Marlowe-Crowne Scale of Social Desirability and the self-referenced vignettes was significant ($r=.46$, $p<.05$), while the correlation between the Marlowe-Crowne and the norm-referenced vignettes was not significant ($r=.25$, $p<.05$).

Teachers appear to conceive of their efficacy in terms of a norm rather than self-referenced construct, since the norm-reference vignettes correlated significantly with the criterion of the Rand items while the self-referenced vignettes showed no significant correlation. Also, social desirability bias was a significant factor in the use of the self-referenced vignettes but not with the norm-referenced vignettes.

These findings suggest that teachers evaluate their effectiveness in terms of their performance in comparison to the performance of other teachers. Research has indicated that teachers have very little information regarding the performance of other teachers, beyond the tales carried by students and those told in the teachers' lounge. Thus, they are likely to base their own self-evaluation on a rather limited and biased perception of the effectiveness of others. This practice may contribute to the fragile and uncertain sense of competence characteristic of many teachers. Effective approaches to increasing teachers' sense of efficacy may involve providing teachers with opportunities to share with other teachers their feelings about their effectiveness and to observe each other's teaching practices. A cooperative approach among teachers to work together to develop their efficacy may be helpful in aiding teachers to overcome problems of low sense of efficacy.

Stress and Efficacy

Recognizing the response bias problems inherent in asking teachers to estimate their effectiveness, we also explored the possibility that a measure of stress might be used as a proxy for efficacy, since an admission of stress should be less threatening than an admission of ineffectiveness. For each efficacy item, we wrote a corresponding stress item, for example:

> You have a student who never hands in assignments on time, seldom gets to class before the bell rings and inevitably forgets to bring books or pencil to class. You have discussed this matter with his parents but they don't seem to understand the importance of school achievement. How effective would you be in motivating this student to get to work?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
extremely ineffective					extremely effective	

How stressful would this situation be for you?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all stressful			moderately stressful		extremely stressful	

Correlations between the fifty efficacy vignettes and the stress items ranged from (-.05 to -.82) with an average correlation of -.39. Thus, the stress items, while having a moderate relationship to the efficacy items, do not appear to warrant use of a stress measure as a proxy for efficacy.

Another possible use of the stress items is as a weighting index. Perhaps a more powerful measure of efficacy could be created if more weight were assigned to efficacy vignettes that teachers generally reported as being more stressful than others.

Efficacy and Sense of Control

According to the authors of the original Rand efficacy scale (Armor et al, 1976; Berman et al, 1977), the theoretical basis for the instrument was derived from Rotter's (1966) social learning theory. To examine the relationship between the Rand efficacy measure, the generalized locus of control measure developed by Rotter (1966) and a teacher-specific locus of control scale, the TLC scale, developed by Rose and Medway (1981), sixty-four high school teachers from a large urban high school completed a questionnaire, including the Rand efficacy items, the Rotter Internal-External (I-E) Scale (see Appendix G), the Teacher Locus of Control (TLC) scale (see Appendix H).

Instruments. The Rotter I-E Scale (see Appendix G)is a 23-item, forced choice measure of one's general belief in the extent to which he or she controls reinforcements received (Rotter, 1966). The TLC scale (see Appendix H) is a 28-item measure of the teacher's perceptions of control in the classroom. Fourteen items (I+) describe positive or success situations, and fourteen items (I-) describe negative or failure situations. The authors reported a moderate relationship ($r=.33$, $p<.04$) between the negative and positive items and recommend separate scores for the two subscales.

Results. The correlations among the Rand, Rotter and TLC measures are reported in Table 24. Neither of the Rand efficacy items correlated significantly with the Rotter scale, but personal teaching efficacy, Rand Efficacy 2, was significantly correlated with both I+ ($r=.31$, $p<.05$) and I- ($r=.36$, $p<.01$). Similar to results reported by Medway and Rose (1981), we found that I+ was significantly correlated with the I-E scale ($r=-.28$, $p<.05$), while I- was not significantly correlated with the I-E scale ($r=-.07$). The results of this study suggest that teachers' belief in their ability to affect student learning, at least among experienced teachers, is distinct from their generalized belief in thier sense of control over the reinforcements they receive. While this finding could be an artifact of the psychometric limitations of the single item measure of teacher efficacy, if valid, it suggests that efforts to increase teachers' sense of efficacy should focus on the specific teacher efficacy belief rather than on the generalized belief in personal efficacy, measured by the I-E scale.

Stability of Teacher Efficacy

The stability of teachers' sense of efficacy, as measured by the Rand efficacy items, was investigated by asking the basic skills high school teachers to respond to the efficacy items again one year after completing the original efficacy questionnaire. Thirty-two of the original 38 teachers returned the questionnaire. The test-retest reliability coefficient for Rand Efficacy 1 was .31, $p<.08$, .54, $p<001$ for Rand Efficacy 2 and .53, $p<.002$ for the total Rand Efficacy score.

Twenty-one teachers enrolled in a graduate class in the College of Education at the University of Florida completed the Rand Efficacy items,

Table 24

Intercorrelation Matrix for Sense of Control Scales
(N=64)

	EF 1	EF 2	Rotter	I+	I-
EF 1					
EF 2	.03				
Rotter	-.05	-.13			
I+	.03	.31[a]	-.28[a]		
I-	.00	.36[b]	-.07	.42[c]	

[a] p<.05
[b] p<.01
[c] p<.005

the Webb Efficacy scale and the 15-item Personal Teaching Efficacy Vignettes measure twice with a six-week interval between administrations of the instruments. The test-retest reliability coefficient for the Rand Efficacy score was .44, $p<.07$, for Webb Efficacy, .68, $p<.004$, and for the Personal Teaching Efficacy Vignettes, .57, $p<.02$.

Conclusion

The Rand efficacy items remain our best predictors of achievement. (See Chapter 5 for a detailed reporting of these data.) However, Nunnally (1978) warned that constructing an instrument on the basis of item correlations with a criterion is inappropriate, if the purpose of the instrument is to contribute to our understanding of human attributes. Since teachers' sense of efficacy is an important teacher characteristic affecting teacher-student relations, instruments are needed that provide a clarity of conception regarding the nature of the variable thus, enabling us to investigate methods for influencing the factors that constitute teachers' sense of efficacy.

We cannot overstate the difficulty of the measurement problem. In describing his work with measurement of self-efficacy, Bandura (1977) recommended that situation-specific measurement will produce the most powerful predictions of behavior. Since Bandura has chosen to base his theoretical formulations on experimental work conducted within a narrowly defined domain, that is, snake phobia, in which outcomes are easily defined, that is, the subject either approaches or avoids the snake, his measurement strategies are not easily transferred to the domain of teacher effectiveness in which goals are vaguely defined at best, outcomes are admittedly difficult to determine (Jackson, 1968; Lortie, 1975) and dependent on the interaction of the teacher with a variety of individuals rather than solely under the control of the teacher. Concluding from his efforts at measurement and theory building in the domain of personal conceptions, Rotter (1979) also emphasized the importance of situation-specific measures but warned of the inherent difficulties of the task, especially of devising conceptually and empirically distinct measures, not heavily weighted with social desirability variance.

We have only begun to identify the problems involved in measurement of efficacy. We hope that our experiences and the model we have proposed will be helpful to researchers in developing future measures.

CHAPTER 5

A Process-Product Study of Teachers' Sense of Efficacy

Introduction

In order to affect student achievement, teachers' sense of efficacy must be reflected in specific behaviors in the classroom. To explore the relationships existing between teachers' sense of efficacy, teacher-student interaction in the classroom, and student achievement, a classroom observation study was conducted in four high schools. Basic skills mathematics and communications classrooms were selected for this study, because we expected that of all teaching situations we could choose to study, teachers' sense of efficacy would be most likely to have an impact on teacher behavior in these classrooms. Students were placed in basic skills classes because of low scores (below the thirtieth percentile) on the annual Metropolitan Achievement Test. Students were selected for special remediation because they had failed or were expected to fail the state competency test administered to all eleventh graders in the state. Doubting their ability to teach students with problems, teachers with a low sense of efficacy faced with an entire class of students having a history of school failure would be likely to demonstrate their sense of inadequacy in their interactions with the class. Thus, to maximize the likelihood of observing behavioral correlates of teachers' sense of efficacy, we conducted our observational study on high school basic skills classes.

Subjects

Forty-eight basic skills teachers (mathematics and communications teachers in four high schools in a southeastern university community) participated in the study. The sample consisted of 28 white female, 16 white male, 1 black male, and 3 black female teachers. The teachers had an average of 10 years experience, with the range of experience extending from 1 to 35 years, with the median being 8 years of experience. One basic skills class of each teacher was observed at least twice, and most were observed three times during a two-month period in the winter of 1980-81. Since the curriculum of the classes was similar across grades, to the extent that in several classes students of different grade levels were combined, observations were conducted in ninth, tenth, and eleventh grade classes. Major portions of the data were available for 45 teachers, although that number varied somewhat from analysis to analysis, due to missing data.

Process-Product Measures

Student Achievement

Student achievement was measured by the Reading, Language, and Mathematics subtests of the Metropolitan Achievement Test administered in the spring of 1980 and 1981.

Teacher Attitudes

Teachers completed a questionnaire (See Appendix I) that included the two Rand efficacy questions, eleven of the efficacy vignette items, the Webb efficacy questionnaire, two items regarding the stress that the teachers experienced in teaching basic skills classes and the level of stress they experienced in teaching in general, and a question regarding the degree of responsibility they felt for their students' learning.

Classroom Observation Measures

The Climate and Control System (CCS). The Climate and Control System (CCS) is a 1980 revision (Soar & Soar, 1980) of the Florida Climate and Control System (Soar, Soar & Ragosta, 1971). The instrument provides a record of the climate and control aspects of the classroom, by noting the classroom organization, the teacher's control strategies, the pupils' response to the teacher's control, and, in turn, the teacher's response to pupils' reactions to their control strategies. In addition, climate is measured in terms of the expression of both positive and negative affect of teachers and pupils.

The CCS instrument consists of two coding sheets. (See Appendix J). The matrix on the top half of the first page is used to record interactive sequences between pupils and teacher in terms of the three contexts: teacher initiation and pupil response, and two types of follow-up, either by teacher or pupil initiation. The bottom half of the first page is used to record information about the teacher's organization of the classroom, for example, the type of groupings and the degree to which students are engaged in the classroom tasks. The second page of the CCS instrument is designed to measure the expression of affect on the part of both the teacher and the pupils. In addition, the instrument distinguishes between negative and positive and verbal and non-verbal affect.

The Teacher Practices Observation Record (TPOR). The Teacher Practices Observation Record (TPOR) was designed by Brown (1968) to analyze the instructional methods utilized by the teacher in the classroom. The TPOR is comprised of sixty-two items describing teacher behavior (See Appendix K.); half of the items reflect a progressive or experimental approach to instruction, as represented by the philosophy of John Dewey, while half of the items reflect a traditional or "direct instruction" approach to the classroom. The types of observations included in the TPOR are the nature of the classroom situation, the nature of the problems the teacher presents to students, the processes the teacher uses in developing student ideas, the teacher's use of subject matter, the teacher's evaluation and motivation strategies, and the extent to which the teacher differentiates instruction and evaluation to meet individual student needs.

Research for Better Schools Engagement Rate Form. A practical and simple procedure for determining student engagement rate developed by Research for Better Schools (RBS) (Huitt & Rim, 1980) was adapted to estimate student time-on-task in the basic skills classrooms. On the engagement rate form (Appendix L), the observer noted the number of students engaged and unengaged, according to the categories described in Table 25. According to RBS directions, approximately 15 observations should be recorded during a class period at time intervals ranging from one to three minutes. Since our previous observations in middle school classrooms led us to the hypothesis that teachers' sense of efficacy is related to teachers' use of the entire class period for instruction, we were most interested in the engagement rate at the beginning and end of class periods. Consequently, observers were instructed to complete the engagement rate form at the end of the first five minutes of the class period and five minutes before the end of the period and then at intervals, occurring following codings of a set of TPOR and CCS observations. Generally, this procedure resulted in five engagement rate observations per class period.

Observational Data Collection Procedures

Observations were carried out by five observers who were each trained in the use of the instruments during an intensive two month training period by Robert and Ruth Soar. Each observer began each classroom visit by completing a data sheet (See Appendix M.) indicating the number of students present in the class and other classroom identifying information. After observing for five minutes, the observer noted the engagement behavior of the class on the RBS instrument, then spent three minutes coding the teacher's verbal behavior on the CCS form, and two minutes observing the teacher's non-verbal behavior; this was followed by recording of the affective climate of the classroom on the CCS instrument. Subsequently, the observer noted the teacher and student behavior for a five minute period and then completed the TPOR observation form. Then the observer noted the engagement rate again, completing the same sequence of observations until five minutes prior to the end of the period when the student engagement rate was noted for the last time and the observation period ended. The observers obtained at least three sets of observations for almost all classroom visits. Three pre- and three post- visits were sought for each teacher, though this goal was not met for all teachers due to scheduling difficulties.

Analysis of Process-Product Measures

Classroom Environment Factors

In an earlier study, the Soars (Soar & Soar, 1978) reduced the observation data obtained from the CCS and the TPOR by factor analysis to a set of factors representing a paradigm of the classroom environment for learning. The paradigm delineates four independent dimensions of classroom behavior: (1) Emotional climate, (2) Teacher management of pupil behavior, (3) Teacher management of learning tasks, and (4) Teacher management of thinking processes. (See Figure 6). In addition to the compelling rational argument that teacher behaviors do not occur in isolation but rather in clusters that support or moderate each other, the use of factor scores is preferable to individual items because of the low reliability of individual observation items and the reduction in the large number of relationships that must be tested (Soar & Soar, 1978).

Table 25

Definitions for Categories Used on Engagement Rate Form

Engaged Categories

Mathematics: Student is involved in or attending to instruction in arithmetic, numbers, computation, measurement, geometry, word problems, or counting

Reading/Language Arts: Student is involved in or attending to instruction in oral/silent reading, decoding, comprehension, handwriting, spelling, speaking or listening activities, literature, grammar, composition

Unengaged Categories

Management/Transition (M): Daily, routine classroom activities or preparatory or "in-between" activities (e.g., distributing, setting up, or gathering equipment, supplies, or furniture; taking roll; cleaning up; putting on or taking off coats; standing in line; getting a drink or washing hands in room; putting headings on papers; nonacademic directions; waiting for next activity to begin; waiting for teacher's help; turning through pages in book)

Socializing (S): Two or more persons who are interacting socially (e.g., talking, whispering, laughing, wrestling, hitting, note passing, walking together)

Discipline (D): Adult is reprimanding a student, a student is being punished or student is watching other student being scolded (e.g., one student is being scolded and whole class is listening, head down on desk for punishment)

Unoccupied/Observing (U): Student is sitting or standing alone, wandering about with no evident purpose or goal, watching other pepple or unassigned activities, or playing with materials.

Out of Room (O): Student temporarily out of room (e.g., bathroom, errand, nurse, office)

Other Assigned

Student assigned to subject other than reading/language arts or math (e.g., social studies, science, art, music, free time activities, games, snack)

Pullout Assigned

Student(s) regularly assigned out of classroom (e.g., Title I, remedial reading, instrumental music, adaptive physical education, chorus, bilingual instruction, etc.)

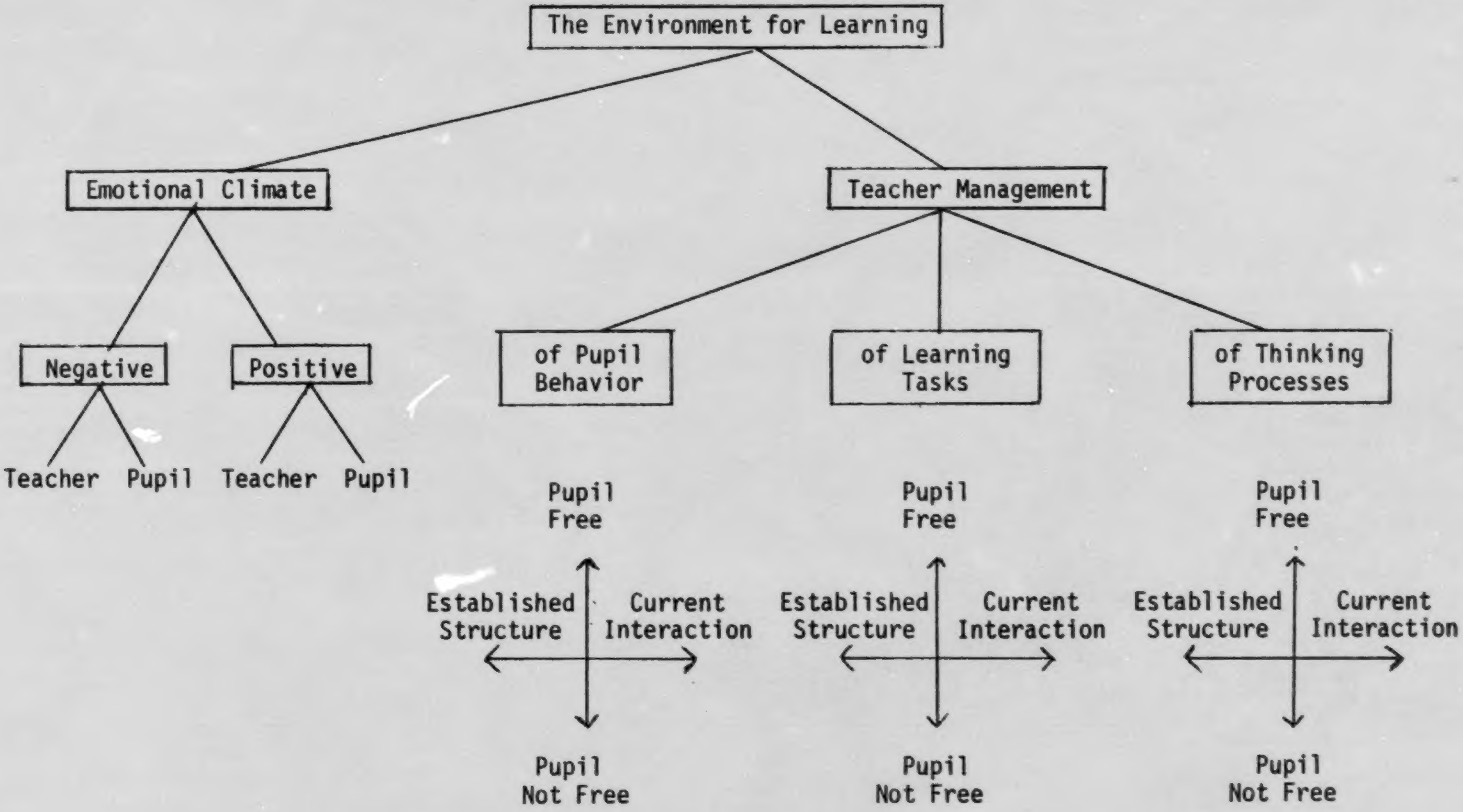
The Environment for Learning
Emotional Climate
Teacher Management
Negative
Positive
Teacher
Pupil
Teacher
Pupil
of Pupil Behavior
of Learning Tasks
of Thinking Processes
Pupil Free
Established Structure
Current Interaction
Pupil Not Free
Pupil Free
Established Structure
Current Interaction
Pupil Not Free
Pupil Free
Established Structure
Current Interaction
Pupil Not Free

Figure 6

A Paradigm of the Environment for Learning

Although the internal consistency of the measures was lower than in Soar and Soar's earlier study, the results were considered as being generally supportive. The correlations of items with the measures of which they were part were .50 or greater for 59% of the items; .30 or greater for 75% of the items. Correlations were strongest for measures of affect expression (84% were .50 or greater), weaker for the remaining measures. The original measures were developed on self-contained elementary school classrooms, therefore, the low correlations for some of the items were not surprising since the behaviors were not likely to occur at the secondary level--for example, "Teacher touches, pats." Other low correlations seemed reasonable because the classes were remedial, reducing the likelihood that higher level thinking activities would be encouraged. The item correlations with the paradigm factors are presented in Tables 26, 27, 28, and 29.

Reliability of Process Measures

Reliability of the process measures was estimated using intraclass correlation treating both teacher variability from occasion to occasion and differences between observers as error--the most stringent estimate of reliability. The intraclass correlation coefficient was used as the computing procedure since it is sensitive to differences in average amounts of a given behavior recorded by different observers, in contrast to product-moment correlation which is not (Soar & Soar, 1982).

The intraclass correlation coefficient is estimated from the sums of squares from standard analysis of variance computing procedures (Algina, 1978; Bartko, 1976 ; Rowley, 1976; Soar & Soar, 1982). Since the intraclass correlation reflects differences due to occasions as well as differences due to observers, it is expected to be much lower than the traditional observer agreement statistic, which represents only observer differences. In fact, Soar and Soar (1982) reported:

> It is not unusual to find reliabilities on the order of .5 to .6; indeed, in a study of ours a measure with a reliability of .38 was one of the most powerful in terms of accounting for pupil gain. (p. 31)

The intraclass correlation coefficients for the process-product paradigm of learning factor scores are presented in Table 30. The low correlations are probably attributable in large measure to the great similarity in teaching strategies across teachers in the basic skills classes and the infrequency of occurrence of some behaviors, like pupil negative affect and guided discovery.

Process-Product Analysis

Class means for the student achievement data appear in Tables 31, 32, and 33. Analyses of the process-product relationships were calculated with the class as the unit of analysis. Means and standard deviations for the mathematics teachers' normalized attitude measures and their students' Metropolitan scores are presented in Table 34. Partial correlations between teacher attitude and classroom process variables and students' Metropolitan mathematics test scores were computed, holding spring 1980 scores constant. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 35.

Table 26

Item Correlations with Soars' Classroom Environment For Learning Paradigm Factor Scores

Emotional Climate

Instrument	Item	Correlation
	Teacher Negative affect (verbal and nonverbal)	
CCS	Says "stop it", etc.	.65
CCS	Frowns	.71
CCS	Uses sharp tone	.72
CCS	Shows disgust	.68
CCS	Points, shakes finger	.64
CCS	Waits for child (negative)	.68
CCS	Rejects child	.51
CCS	Criticizes, blames, warns	.79
	Teacher Positive Affect (verbal and nonverbal)	
CCS	Smiles, laughs, nods	.70
CCS	Waits for child (positive)	.34
CCS	Listens carefully to child	.56
CCS	Pats, hugs child	.18
CCS	Is enthusiastic	.52
CCS	Warm, congenial	.74
CCS	Praises child	.54
CCS	Agrees with child	.64
CCS	Gives individual attention	.39
CCS	Develops "we" feeling	.54
	Pupil Negative Affect	
CCS	Teases	.77
CCS	Picks at child	.40
CCS	Makes disparaging remark	.77
CCS	Uncooperative, resistant	.80
CCS	Commands or demands	.57
CCS	Laughs (negative)	.67
CCS	Tattles	.57
CCS	Horseplay	.59
CCS	Interferes, threatens	.64
CCS	Makes face, frowns	.69
CCS	Finds fault	.78
CCS	Says "no", etc.	.61

Table 26 Continued

Instrument	Item	Correlation
	Pupil Positive Affect	
CCS	Sounds friendly	.69
CCS	Offers to share, cooperate	.77
CCS	Is enthusiastic (verbal)	.59
CCS	Helps another	.57
CCS	Enthusiastic (non-verbal)	.63
CCS	Helpful, shares	.54
CCS	Chooses another	.29
CCS	Pouts, withdraws	-.35

Table 27

Item Correlations with Soars' Classroom Environment for Learning Paradigm Factor Scores

Management of Behavior

Instrument	Item	Correlation
	Teacher Strong Control	
CCS	Gives orders, commands (col.1)*	.39
CCS	Gives orders, commands (col.3)	.62
CCS	Gives orders, commands (col.5)	.49
CCS	Glares, frowns (col.3)	.58
CCS	Glares, frowns (col.5)	.45
CCS	Imposes external disciplinary control on P	.72
CCS	Scolds, punishes (col.3)	.49
CCS	Scolds, punishes (col.5)	.37
CCS	Interrupts, cuts off (col.3)	.51
CCS	Interrupts, cuts off (col.5)	.06
CCS	Directs without reason (col.1)	.24
CCS	Directs without reason (col.3)	.58
CCS	Directs without reason (col.5)	.34
TPOR	Discourages or prevents P from expressing self freely	.54
TPOR	Passes judgment on P's behavior or work	.54
TPOR	Withholds judgement on P's behavior or work	-.30
TPOR	Encourages P to express self freely	-.24
TPOR	Encourages self discipline on part of P	-.30
	Teacher Gentle to Moderate Control	
CCS	Praises (col.2)	.56
CCS	Praises (col.4)	.60
CCS	Praises (col.6)	.31
CCS	Touches, Pats (col.4)	.15
CCS	Suggests, guides (col.2)	.32
CCS	Suggests, guides (col.4)	.29
CCS	Suggests, guides (col.6)	.16
CCS	Directs with reason (col.2)	.30
CCS	Directs with reason (col.4)	.45
TPOR	Passes judgment on P's behavior or work	.46
CCS	Questions, states behavior rule (col.2)	.22
CCS	Questions, states behavior rule (col.4)	.38
TPOR	Discourages or prevents P from expressing self freely	.40

* Column numbers indicate the column of the CCS interactive matrix in which the item was coded.

Table 27 continued

Instrument	Item	Correlation
	Pupil Disorder vs. Order	
CCS	Frequently socializes	.91
CCS	Aimless wandering	.85
CCS	Reports rule to another	.51
CCS	Occasionally socializes	-.20
CCS	Almost never socializes	-.68
	Pupil Follows Routine with Little Supervision	
CCS	Follows routine without reminder	.74
CCS	Works, plays with little supervision	.74
CCS	Reports rule to another	.37

Table 28

Item Correlations with Soars' Classroom Environment for Learning Paradigm Factor Scores

Management of Learning Tasks

Instrument	Item	Correlation
	Teacher Central and Directed vs Pupil Central and Active	
TPOR	T occupies center of attention	.67
TPOR	T provides P with detailed facts and information	.57
CCS	T central	.73
CCS	Total group with teacher	.73
CCS	Small group with teacher	-.01
TPOR	T approaches subject matter in direct, business-like way	.48
TPOR	T makes some thing as a thing center of P's attention	.07
TPOR	T has P spend time waiting, watching, listening	.72
TPOR	T organizes learning around P's own problem	-.36
TPOR	T has P make his own collection and analysis of subject matter	-.22
CCS	Pupil central	-.08
CCS	Pupil task related movement	-.53
TPOR	T makes doing something center of P's attention	-.23
	Differentiated Activities	
CCS	Seatwork without the teacher	.48
TPOR	T has different Ps working at different tasks	.61
CCS	T attends simultaneous activities	.15
CCS	P speaks aloud without permission	.05
TPOR	T joins or participates in P's activities	-.02
CCS	P --limited choice	.35
CCS	Free groups	.51
CCS	T attends P closely	.37
CCS	P --free choice	.46
TPOR	T has P participate actively	-.11
TPOR	T makes a wide range of information material available	.24
TPOR	T relies heavily on textbook as source of information	-.24
CCS	Seatwork with teacher	-.60
TPOR	T holds all Ps responsible for certain material to be learned	-.66

Table 29

Item Correlations with Soars' Classroom Environment for Learning Paradigm Factor Scores

Management of Thinking

Instrument	Item	Correlation
	Teacher Guided Discovery Backed up by Facts	
TPOR	T involves P in uncertain or incomplete situation	.56
TPOR	T asks P to judge comparative value of answers or suggestions	.70
TPOR	T asks P to support answers or opinion with evidence	.67
TPOR	T helps P discover and correct factual errors and inaccuracies	.37
TPOR	T encourages P to put his ideas to a test	.57
TPOR	T asks P to evaluate his own work	.58
TPOR	T leads P to Q or problem which "stumps" him	.36
TPOR	T questions misconceptions, faulty logic, unwarranted conclusions	.40
TPOR	T has P decided when Q has been answered satisfactorily	.61
TPOR	T motivates P with intrinsic value of ideas or activities	.60
TPOR	T permits P to suggest additional or alternative answers	.53
	Teacher Narrow, One-Answer Interaction	
TPOR	T expects P to come up with answer T has in mind	.76
TPOR	T immediately reinforces P's answer as "right" or "wrong"	.59
TPOR	T accepts only one answer as being correct	.77
TPOR	T prevents situations which cause P doubt or perplexity	.59
TPOR	T accepts only answers or suggestions closely related to topic	.61
TPOR	T evaluates work of all by a set standard	.40
TPOR	T stops P from going ahead with plan which T knows will fail	.74
TPOR	T asks Q that P can answer only if he studied the lesson	.63
TPOR	T expects P to "know" rather than guess answer to Q	.74
TPOR	T asks another P to give answer if one P fails to answer quickly	.49
TPOR	T emphasizes idealized, reassuring, or "pretty" aspects of topic	.02

Table 29 Continued

Instrument	Item	Correlation
	Guess or Hypothesize (no evaluation)	
TPOR	T asks Q that is not readily answerable by study of lesson	.54
TPOR	T permits P to suggest additional or alternative answers	.70
TPOR	T encourages P to guess or hypothesize about unknown or untested	.36
TPOR	T emphasizes idealized, reassuring, or "pretty" aspects of a topic	.17
TPOR	T entertains even "wild" or farfetched suggestions	.13
TPOR	T emphasized realistic, disconcerting, or "ugly" aspects of topic	.42
TPOR	T steers P away from hard Q or problem	.18
TPOR	T motivates with intrinsic value of ideas or activity	.42
TPOR	T expects P to "know" rather than to guess answer to Q	-.65
TPOR	T asks Q that P can answer only if he studied the lesson	-.43
TPOR	T accepts only one answer as being correct	-.69

Table 30

Intraclass Correlation Estimates of Reliability of Classroom Process Factor Measures

	MSB	MSW	MSB-MSW	(MSB-MSW)/MSB
TNA	.017	.010	.007	.41**
TPA	.019	.014	.005	.26
PNA	.011	.010	.001	.09
PPA	.010	.008	.008	.50***
STRCONT	.005	.003	.002	.40**
MODCONT	.0044	.0048		.00
PDISORDR	.04	.02	.02	.50***
PROUTINE	.043	.038	.005	.12
TCENT	.023	.010	.013	.57***
DIFFACT	.010	.007	.003	.30*
GUIDDISC	.0065	.0066		.00
NROANS	.032	.022	.010	.31*
GUESSHYP	.0094	.0057	.0037	.39**
IARATE	1.23	.65	.58	.47***

*	.05
**	.01
***	.001

Definitions of Abbreviations

TNA	Teacher Negative Affect
TPA	Teacher Positive Affect
PNA	Pupil Negative Affect
PPA	Pupil Positive Affect
STRCONT	Teacher Strong Control
MODCONT	Teacher Moderate Control
PDISORDR	Pupil Disorder vs Control
PROUTINE	Pupil Follows Routine with Little Supervision
TCENT	Teacher Central and Directed vs Pupil Central and Active
DIFFACT	Differentiated Activities
GUIDDISC	Guided Discovery Backed up by Facts
NROANS	Narrow, one-answer Interaction
GUESSHYP	Guess or Hypothesize (no evaluation)
IARATE	Interest-Attention Rating

Table 31

Metropolitan Mathematics Means for Basic Skills Mathematics Classes

Teacher	Spring, 1980	Spring, 1981
2	702.333	719.000
3	641.769	694.007
9	651.750	686.500
11	651.125	682.000
13	676.688	697.625
15	610.333	643.000
16	654.545	698.000
19	685.182	740.636
20	648.444	704.222
25	658.444	718.111
26	663.500	677.875
33	645.778	684.333
36	681.417	727.583
37	670.182	704.545
39	666.500	704.000
41	677.714	701.643
42	645.833	670.333
46	681.857	713.857
47	671.917	743.583
48	663.857	727.571

Table 32

Metropolitan Language Test Means for Basic Skills Communication Classes

Teacher	Spring, 1980	Spring, 1981
1	558.667	624.500
10	635.222	641.444
18	631.125	668.875
21	624.400	676.500
23	647.250	640.778
27	609.385	655.462
28	630.083	622.667
32	665.125	665.125
40	662.200	669.100
43	658.750	681.625
45	650.889	677.111

Table 33

Metropolitan Reading Test Means for Basic Skills Communication Classes

Teacher	Spring, 1980	Spring, 1981
1	637.500	653.167
10	684.667	711.556
18	689.375	661.875
21	685.636	682.800
23	681.000	688.333
27	655.923	671.385
28	656.417	680.333
32	681.250	721.375
40	707.100	712.000
43	705.125	708.938
45	684.500	695.667

Table 34

Means and Standard Deviations for Normalized Teacher Attitude, Classroom Process Variables and Metropolitan Mathematics Achievement Test Scores for Basic Skills Mathematics Classrooms

Description	N	Mean	Std. Dev.
Teachers' sense of responsibility	21	49.81	8.36
Rand Efficacy 1	22	49.86	7.98
Rand Efficacy 2	22	49.27	7.40
Stress in teaching basic skills	22	49.91	8.86
Stress in teaching	22	49.59	8.29
Efficacy Vignettes	22	49.77	9.57
Webb Efficacy	22	49.77	9.53
Teacher negative affect	27	50.73	5.75
Teacher positive affect	27	49.00	4.36
Pupil negative affect	27	50.65	5.01
Pupil positive affect	27	49.50	3.78
Teacher strong control	27	51.27	3.14
Teacher moderate control	27	49.58	2.54
Pupil disorder	27	49.42	4.37
Pupil follows routine	27	50.97	5.65
Teacher central & directed	27	50.33	3.91
Differentiated activities	27	49.69	2.26
Teacher guided discussion	27	49.99	2.24
Teacher narrow, one-answer	27	52.02	4.99
Teacher encourages guess, hypothesis	27	48.43	2.21
Interest-attention	27	49.93	7.68
Mathematics pretest	19	664.15	18.82
Mathematics posttest	19	706.21	24.64

Table 35

Partial Correlations of Teacher Attitude and Classroom Process Variables and Student Metropolitan Mathematics Achievement

Description	r	p
Teacher sense of responsibility for student achievement	-.21	.51
Teacher sense of efficacy 1	.78	.003
Teacher sense of efficacy 2	.006	.98
Teacher stress in teaching basic skills	-.03	.92
Teacher stress in teaching	-.18	.57
Teacher sense of efficacy (Vignettes)	-.27	.39
Teacher sense of efficacy (Webb)	.50	.10
Teacher positive affect	.10	.70
Pupil negative affect	-.52	.03
Pupil positive affect	.17	.51
Teacher strong control	-.66	.004
Teacher moderate control	-.20	.43
Pupil disorder	-.26	.31
Pupil follows routine	-.24	.36
Teacher central and directed	.03	.91
Differentiated activities	-.12	.65
Guided discovery	.44	.08
Narrow, one-answer interaction	-.13	.62
Guess or hypothesize	-.02	.93
Interest-attention	.32	.21
Engagement rate	.45	.07

Significant relationships with students' mathematics achievement were obtained for Rand Efficacy 1 ($r=.78$, $p<.003$), teacher negative affect ($r=-.60$, $p<.01$), pupil negative affect ($r=.52$, $p<.03$), and teachers' use of strong control ($r=-.66$, $p<.004$). Interesting trends emerged for the Webb Efficacy measure ($r=.50$, $p<.10$), the engagement rate measure ($r=.45$, $p<.07$), and guided discovery ($r=.44$, $p<.08$).

To examine the unique contributions of the Rand and Webb efficacy measures, teacher strong control and pupil negative affect to students' Metropolitan mathematics achievement, a stepwise multiple regression analysis was computed. To control for entering ability, the students' Metropolitan mathematics achievement scores were first regressed on their previous year's test scores; the remaining variables were then entered in single steps determined by the respective contribution of each variable to reducing unexplained variance. Two steps in the multiple regression were completed before the additional predictor variables were deemed insignificant ($p<.05$). Table 36 reports the results of the analysis for the significant predictor variables. Students' scores on the spring 1980 Metropolitan accounted for 64% of the variation in their 1981 MAT mathematics scores ($F=45.09$, $p<.01$). Teachers' scores on the Rand Efficacy 1 increased the amount of variation accounted for to 88%, a sizable contribution ($F=18.33$, $p<.01$). None of the remaining variables, Rand Efficacy 2, Webb Efficacy teachers' strong control, and pupils' negative affect, significantly improved the prediction of students' MAT mathematics scores. The b-weights (standardized regression coefficients) indicate that a one-point increase in the pretest score would yield a .91-point increase in the posttest performance, and each one-point increase in teachers' Rand Efficacy 1 scores would add a 1.29-point increase in students' achievement scores.

Means and standard deviations for the communication teachers' normalized attitude measures and their students' Metropolitan language and reading achievement scores are presented in Table 37.

Partial correlations between teacher attitude, classroom process variables and students' Metropolitan language test scores were computed, holding spring 1980 scores constant. The results appear in Table 38. Significant relationships were obtained between Metropolitan language scores and Rand Efficacy 2 ($r=.83$, $p<.02$) and pupil classroom routine ($r=-.68$, $p<.03$) and a trend toward significance emerged for Rand Efficacy 1 ($r=.71$, $p<.07$) and Metropolitan language scores.

A stepwise multiple regression analysis was computed to examine the unique contributions of the Rand and Webb efficacy measures, teacher strong control, and pupil negative affect to students' Metropolitan language achievement. In the initial step, the students' 1981 Metropolitan language test scores were regressed on their previous year's test scores; the remaining variables were then entered in single steps determined by the respective contribution of each variable to reducing unexplained variance. Two steps in the multiple regression analysis were completed before the additional predictors were found to be insignificant ($p<.05$). Table 39 reports the results of the analysis for the significant predictor variables.

Table 36

Multiple Regression Analysis of 1981 Metropolitan Mathematics Test Achievement

Variable	r	R	R^2	R^2 Change	b	Beta	F
1980 Metropolitan Mathematics Test	.80	.80	.64	.64	.91	.77	45.09*
Rand Efficacy 1	.94	.94	.88	.24	1.29	.49	18.33*

*p<.01

Table 37

Means and Standard Deviations for Normalized Teacher Attitude, Classroom Process Variables, and Metropolitan Reading and Language Achievement Test Scores for Basic Skills Communication Teachers

Description	N	Mean	Std. Dev.
Teachers' sense of responsibility	13	50.46	7.98
Rand Efficacy 1	14	49.64	8.51
Rand Efficacy 2	14	49.86	9.13
Stress in teaching basic skills	14	49.79	9.18
Stress in teaching	14	50.29	7.96
Efficacy Vignettes	14	49.50	9.78
Webb Efficacy	14	49.29	9.12
Teacher negative affect	18	52.62	5.99
Teacher positive affect	18	51.26	4.53
Pupil negative affect	18	52.58	4.74
Pupil positive affect	18	51.18	4.74
Teacher strong control	18	50.19	3.13
Teacher moderate control	18	51.86	1.99
Pupil disorder	18	53.94	6.39
Pupil follows routine	18	50.52	6.29
Teacher central and directed	18	50.24	3.71
Differentiated activities	18	50.76	2.96
Teacher guided discussion	18	50.16	2.53
Teacher narrow, one-answer	18	49.37	4.72
Teacher encourages guess, hypothesis	18	51.75	2.68
Interest-attention	18	45.50	10.12
Reading pretest	11	673.10	20.40
Reading posttest	11	682.66	18.11
Language pretest	11	623.10	28.62
Language posttest	11	647.95	23.62

Table 38

Partial Correlations of Teacher Attitude and Classroom Process Variables and Student Metropolitan Language Achievement Test

Description	r	p
Teacher sense of responsibility for student achievement	-.11	.84
Teacher sense of efficacy 1	.71	.07
Teacher sense of efficacy 2	.83	.02
Teacher stress in teaching basic skills	-.34	.46
Teacher stress in teaching	-.29	.53
Teacher sense of efficacy (Vignettes)	.44	.32
Teacher sense of efficacy (Webb)	.58	.17
Teacher positive affect	.41	.24
Pupil negative affect	-.29	.41
Pupil positive affect	-.41	.23
Teacher strong control	-.33	.34
Teacher moderate control	-.03	.94
Pupil disorder	-.39	.26
Pupil follows routine	-.68	.03
Teacher central and directed	.29	.42
Differentiated activities	-.03	.93
Guided discovery	.12	.73
Narrow, one-answer interaction	.14	.71
Guess or hypothesize	-.08	.83
Interest-attention	-.06	.87
Engagement rate	.11	.76

Table 39

Multiple Regression Analysis of 1981 Metropolitan Language Achievement Test

Variable	r	R	R^2	R^2 Change	b	Beta	F
1980 Metropolitan Language Arts Test	.60	.60	.36	.36	.86	1.37	23.10*
Rand Efficacy 2	.005	.91	.82	.46	2.18	1.03	13.13*

* $p<.01$

Students' scores on the spring 1980 Metropolitan language test accounted for 36% of the variation in the 1981 MAT language scores ($F=23.10$, p .01). Rand sense of efficacy 2 increased the amount of variance accounted for by 46% to 82% ($F=13.13$, $p<.01$). The remaining variables did not increase significantly the amount of variance explained.

The b-weights indicate that a one-point increase in the students' previous achievement test scores would yield a .86-point increase in their 1980 scores, and a one-point increase in teachers' sense of efficacy would yield a 2.18-point increase in Metropolitan language achievement scores.

Partial correlations calculated for teacher attitude, classroom process variables and Metropolitan reading test scores, controlling for spring 1980 test scores, are presented in Table 40. A significant negative relationship was obtained between teachers' use of narrow, one-answer questions and students' reading scores ($r=.69$, $p<.03$).

These results suggest that basic skills teachers' Rand Efficacy scores appear to have an important relationship to students' achievement test scores, though the relationship seems to vary depending on subject matter. The lack of relationships obtained between efficacy measures and reading achievement supports the subject specific effect of teachers' efficacy because the basic skills communication classes were not intended to teach reading but rather basic language skills.

Teacher Attitude and Classroom Process Factors

The means and standard deviations of teacher attitude and classroom process variables are presented in Table 41. To examine the relationships between teachers' attitudes and the environment for learning paradigm factors, an intercorrelation matrix was computed. (See Table 42.) The number of relations of the attitude measures with classroom process was disappointingly small--no greater than expected by chance. The relations were in the expected direction, however. Teachers who felt greater responsibility for pupil achievement had less pupil negative affect (a high score on responsibility indicated a low sense of responsibility). Teachers who felt more stress in teaching basic skills used greater amounts of moderate control, $r=.33$, $p<.05$. Teachers who felt more stress in teaching in general used more varied activities, $r=.46$, $p<.01$. Teachers who felt more effective (Webb Efficacy) used less negative affect, $r=-.35$, $p<.05$, and less guided discovery, $r=-.36$, $p<.05$. While not large enough to be significant given the small sample size, an interesting trend is evident between Rand Efficacy 1 and teachers' use of harsh modes of control ($r=-.26$) and student disorder ($r=-.22$). Also too small to reach statistical significance, a relationship may be indicated between Rand Efficacy 2 and and teachers' positive emotional climate ($r=.23$). There was an indication of a possible negative relationship between teachers' sense of efficacy measured by the vignettes and negative emotional climate ($r=-.30$, $p<.08$).

Relationships among the Environment for Learning Paradigm Factors

Intercorrelations between the environment for learning paradigm factors yield information regarding the independence of these factors,

Table 40

Partial Correlations of Teacher Attitude and Classroom Process Variables and Student Reading Achievement*

Description	r	p
Teacher sense of responsibility for student achievement	.28	.60
Teacher sense of efficacy 1	-.14	.76
Teacher sense of efficacy 2	-.40	.37
Teacher stress in teaching basic skills	-.06	.90
Teacher stress in teaching	.09	.85
Teacher sense of efficacy (Vignettes)	-.33	.46
Teacher sense of efficacy (Webb)	-.29	.53
Teacher positive affect	-.12	.74
Pupil negative affect	.20	.58
Pupil positive affect	.29	.41
Teacher strong control	-.08	.83
Teacher moderate control	-.38	.28
Pupil disorder	.06	.86
Pupil follows routine	.10	.78
Teacher central and directed	-.34	.33
Differentiated activities	.21	.56
Guided discovery	.08	.84
Narrow, one-answer interaction	-.69	.03
Guess or hypothesize	.17	.64
Interest-attention	-.12	.73
Engagement rate	-.15	.67

* Spring 1980 Metropolitan reading scores were held constant.

Table 41

Means and Standard Deviations of Teacher Attitudes and Classroom Process Variables

Description	N	Mean	Std. Dev.
Teachers' sense of responsibility	34	1.97	.80
Rand Efficacy 1	36	3.25	.97
Rand Efficacy 2	36	3.33	1.17
Stress in teaching basic skills	36	2.64	1.25
Stress in teaching	36	2.47	.74
Efficacy Vignettes	36	4.64	.78
Webb Efficacy	36	1.48	.16
Teacher negative affect	45	51.49	5.85
Teacher positive affect	45	49.90	4.52
Pupil negative affect	45	51.42	4.94
Pupil positive affect	45	50.17	4.22
Teacher strong control	45	50.84	3.14
Teacher moderate control	45	50.49	2.57
Pupil disorder	45	51.23	5.66
Pupil follows routine	45	50.79	5.85
Teacher central & directed	45	50.30	3.79
Differentiated activities	45	50.12	2.59
Teacher guided discussion	45	50.06	2.33
Teacher narrow, one-answer	45	50.96	5.01
Teacher encourages guess, hypothesis	45	49.76	2.89
Interest-attention	45	48.16	8.90

Table 42

Correlations Between Teacher Attitudes and Behaviors Based on a Paradigm of the Classroom Atmosphere for Learning

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
Responsibility	1	--																				
Efficacy 1	2	-30$_{a}$	--																			
Efficacy 2	3	-37^{a}	33^{a}	--																		
Stress 1	4	02	-33^{a}	-27	--$_{b}$																	
Stress 2	5	02	-13	-15$_{a}$	60^{b}	--																
Vignette	6	-33	-10$_{a}$	36^{a}	01	01	--															
Webb	7	-29	35^{a}	17	-24	-21	19	--														
Student Engagement P·ʳe	8	-04	-04	-04	14	-07	14	-09	--													
Emotional Climate:																						
T Neg	9	18	-05	-07	-13	-10	-30	-35^{a}	-27	--												
T Pos	10	01$_{a}$	06	23	08	-05	19	06	01$_{d}$	-22$_{c}$	--											
P Neg	11	35^{a}	02	09	-15	13	-10	-08	-57^{d}	68^{c}	-03$_{c}$	--										
P Pos	12	23	-02	-13	-21	-21	-16	-18	-12	-04	48^{c}	08	--									
Behavior:																						
T Strong control	13	28	-26	02	02$_{a}$	-09	-01	-04	-27	72^{d}	-13$_{a}$	62	-09	--								
T G to Mod Control	14	20	-17	-21	33^{a}	26	02	-06	07$_{d}$	23$_{a}$	32^{a}	18$_{d}$	11$_{a}$	27	--							
P Disorder vs Order	15	19	-22	04	-12	28	-14	-12	-64^{d}	31^{a}	16	62^{d}	31^{a}	18	14	--						
P Follow Routine	16	-22	-01	06	17	08	-01	04	-04	-12	21	-13	-04	-23	-09	-01	--					
Learning Task:																						
T Central & Directed	17	28	00	-08	07	-03$_{b}$	-04	-14	33^{a}	23	-01	13	02	36$^{a}_{a}$	40^{b}	-16$_{b}$	-57^{d}	--$_{d}$				
Diff. Activities	18	-34	07	03	18	46^{b}	14	-11	-32	-28	24	-10	16	-31^{a}	-16	32^{b}	26	-60^{d}	--			
Thinking:																						
T Guided Disc	19	06	15	07	02	-10	12	-36^{a}	08	-31^{a}	29	-30^{a}	28	-37^{b}	-07$_{b}$	05	06	-09$_{d}$	28$_{d}$	--		
T Narrow, One ans	20	32	-08	13	-05	-19	21	-01	14	17	09	14	17	39^{b}	38^{b}	-12	-20	61$_{a}$	-51$_{b}$	11	--$_{d}$	
T Enc Guess, Hyp	21	-22	06	-03	11	18	-05	-18	-09$_{d}$	-14	20	-12$_{c}$	05	-46^{b}	-00	28$_{d}$	13	-37^{a}	39^{b}	11	-62^{d}	--
Interest-Attention	22	-02	-17	-09	27	-05	21	15	76^{d}	25	-07	-48^{c}	-20	-19	16	-70^{d}	11	11	-36^{a}	-11	19	-18

Note: Decimals have been omitted

a < .05
b < .01
c < .001
d < .0001

as proposed by Soar & Soar (1978).

Teachers' negative emotional climate was strongly associated with negative pupil climate ($r=.68$, $p<.01$), teachers' use of strong control ($r=.72$, $p<.01$), moderately associated with pupil disorder ($r=.31$, $p<.05$) and negatively associated with teachers' use of guided discovery ($r=-.31$, $p<.05$). Teachers' positive emotional climate was related to pupil positive climate ($r=.48$, $p<.01$) and teachers' gentle to moderate control ($r=.32$, $p<.05$).

Pupils' negative affect was positively related to teachers' use of strong control tactics ($r=.62$, $p<.0001$) and pupil disorder ($r=.62$, $p<.0001$), and negatively related to teachers' use of guided discovery techniques ($r=-.30$, $p<.05$) and students' interest-attention rating ($r=-.48$, $p<.001$). Pupils' positive affect was related to pupil disorder ($r=.31$, $p<.05$).

Teachers' use of strong control was negatively associated with teachers' use of differentiated activities ($r=-.31$, $p<.05$), guided discovery ($r=-.37$, $p<.01$), and encouragement of hypotheses testing ($r=-.46$, $p<.01$). Teachers' strong control was positively associated with teacher directed learning ($r=.36$, $p<.05$) and the use of narrow, one-answer questions ($r=.39$, $p<.01$). Teachers' use of gentle to moderate control was associated with teacher directed learning ($r=.40$, $p<.01$) and use of narrow, one-answer questions ($r=.38$, $p<.01$).

Pupil disorder was related to teachers' use of differentiated activities ($r=.32$, $p<.01$) and negatively associated with pupil interest and attention ($r=-.70$, $p<.0001$). Pupils following of a set routine was negatively related to teacher directed learning ($r=-.57$, $p<.0001$). Teacher directed learning was negatively associated with the use of differentiated activities ($r=-.60$, $p<.0001$) and teachers' encouraging of hypothesis testing ($r=-.37$, $p<.05$), and positively related to the use of narrow one-answer questions ($r=.61$, $p<.0001$).

The teachers' use of differentiated activities was negatively related to the use of narrow, one-answer questions ($r=-.51$, $p<.001$) and students' interest-attention rate ($r=-.36$, $p<.05$) and positively related to the encouragement of hypothesis testing ($r=.39$, $p<.01$). Teachers' use of narrow, one-answer questions was negatively related to encouragement of hypothesizing ($r=-.62$, $p<.0001$).

Examination of the strength of the intercorrelations between factor scores provides support for the relative independence of the emotional climate, behavior, and learning task dimensions of the Soars' classroom environment for learning paradigm; however, there were significant intercorrelations between the emotional climate factors and teacher control of behavior factors. The relationship between these two dimensions of classroom environment is understandable because teacher behaviors that comprise strong control are likely to be instigated by distressing student behaviors and accompanied by strong, negative feelings in both teachers and students.

The dimensions of teacher management of learning tasks and thinking appear to be related, suggesting that in the basic skills classrooms, the teachers' decisions about the type of learning tasks had important implications for the processes of thinking; teacher directed learning was associated with the use of narrow, one-answer questions and a reluctance to encourage guessing and hypothesis testing, while the use of differentiated activities was associated with avoidance of narrow-one-answer questions, encouragement of guessing and hypothesis testing, and a reduction in students' interest and attention.

In sum, the paradigm factor intercorrelations reveal a number of trends that have implications for future research and practice in basic skills classrooms. The emotional climate of teacher and student was related; negative teacher affect was associated with negative pupil affect, and positive pupil affect was related to positive teacher affect. While the causal direction of this relationship cannot be determined from the correlational data obtained in this study, it is likely that the relationship is reciprocal -- negative teacher behaviors increase negative student behaviors and vice-versa. Experimental research is needed to determine if the teacher can reduce students' negative affect, by avoidance of negative affect relating to students.

In these basic skills classrooms, teachers' use of differentiated activities was positively related to teachers' experience of stress and negatively related to students' interest-attention rate. These relationships suggest that teachers' use of differentiated activities has a negative impact on their own personal satisfaction as well as on student motivation. Given the importance of these two factors to teaching effectiveness, serious consideration of the advantages and disadvantages of assigning different activities to different students is warranted.

An Empirical Search for Behavioral Correlates of Teachers' Sense of Efficacy

The failure to find significant relationships between teachers' sense of efficacy and the learning paradigm factors scores may be due to the restriction in variance in both the attitude and the behaviors of the basic skills teachers; however, the trends reflected in the correlations between the various efficacy measures and teacher behavior suggest that sense of efficacy may be somewhat related to teachers maintenance of a positive emotional climate and teachers' avoidance of harsh modes of behavior control.

Since all the process data obtained from the CCS and TPOR observations were not represented in the paradigm factor scores, correlations between all the process items and the two Rand Efficacy items were calculated to search for potentially informative relationships. Caution must be exercised, however, in interpreting these relationships. A total of 766 correlations were obtained; a number of spurious relationships can be expected due to chance variation and the low reliability of individual observation items. Correlations of Rand Efficacy 1 and the classroom process variables with significance levels equal to or less than .10 are presented in Table 43, and the entire set of correlations of Rand Efficacy 1 and the classroom process variables appear in Appendix N.

Like the factor scores, consideration of the set of classroom process items having an association with Rand Efficacy 1 suggests that teachers' use of strong control techniques has a negative relationship to teachers'

Table 43

Correlations of Rand Efficacy 1 with Classroom Process Variables (significance level, p<.10)

Item		r	p
	TPOR		
T2	T makes P center of attention	-.41	.01
T3	T makes some thing center of P's attention	-.45	.007
T14	T involves P in uncertain situation	.33	.05
T32	T has P makes his own analysis of subject matter	-.29	.09
T42	T withholds judgment on P's behavior or work	.33	.05
	CCS		
B16	T gives, promises, reward	.28	.10
B19	T praises, general, individual	.30	.08
A5	T sounds defensive	.29	.09
A6	T yells	-.29	.09
A11	P teases	.29	.09
A76	P agreeable, cooperative	-.31	.07
M51	T states behavioral rule	-.29	.09
M60	T directs with reason (follow-up)	.30	.08
M64	T directs without reason	-.36	.03
M80	T reminds, prods (follow-up)	-.34	.04
M116	T scolds, punishes (follow-up)	-.29	.09
M120	T nods, smiles, gives facial feedback	.41	.02
M129	T uses body English, waits	-.37	.03

sense of efficacy (viz, correlations with A6, T yells, r=-.29, p<.09; M51, T states behavioral rule, r=-.29, p<.09; M64, T directs without reason, r=-.36, p<.03; M80, T reminds, prods, r=-.34 p<.04; M116, T scolds, punishes, r=-.29,p<.09). In addition, a number of the relationships can be interpreted to suggest that the high efficacy teacher has a positive, supportive style (B16, T gives, promises, rewards, r=.28,p<.10; B19, T praises, general, individual, r=.30,p<.08; M60, T directs with reason, r=.30, p<.08; M120, T nods, smiles, gives facial feedback, r=.41,p<.02) that permits open communication with students (A11, P teases, r=.29,p<.09; A76, P agreeable, cooperative, r=-.31, p<.07) and involvement of students' in decision-making (T14, T involves P in uncertain situation, r=.33, p<.05; T42, T withholds judgment on P's behavior or work, r=.33, p<.05).

Correlations of Rand Efficacy 2 and the classroom process variables with significance levels equal to or less than .10 are presented in Table 44, and the entire set of correlations of Rand Efficacy 2 and the classroom process variables appear in Appendix O. Examination of Table 44 provides further support for the conclusion that the high efficacy teacher promotes development of a secure, accepting classroom atmosphere (B44, P shows fear, r=-.32, p<.06; A39, P is left out, r=-.40, p<.01; M113, T scolds, punishes, r=-.41, p<.01; M135, T touches, pats P, r=.33, p<.06) that is supportive of student initiative (B42, P seeks assurance, r=.38, p<.03; B45, P shows apathy, r=-.44, p<.007; A10, P says, "No, I won't, etc., r=.28, p<.10; A14, P commands or demands, r=.29, p<.08; M4, T complies with P request (T initiated interaction), r=.30, p<.08; M7, T complies with P request (P initiated interaction), r=.32, p<.06; M26, T suggests, guides, r=-.36, p<.03; M29, T gives feedback, cites reason, r=-.41, p<.02) and focused on meeting the needs of all students (B13, T attends P closely, r=.33, p<.05; A39, P is left out, r=-.40, p<.01; A44, T gives individual attention, r=.32, p<.06; M21, T asks for P status, r=.35, p<.04).

Conclusion

The profile of the high efficacy teacher that emerges from the pattern of correlations between the Rand items and the classroom process items resembles the effective junior high teacher described by Evertson, Anderson, Anderson, and Brophy (1980):

> Generally, the more successful teachers were rated (by students and observers) as being more task oriented, affectionate, enthusiastic, oriented to students' personal needs, competent, confident, and academically effective (p. 46).

The relationship of acceptance of student ideas to effective teaching of low ability students was noted in the Evertson et al.(1980) Junior High Study:

> In general, the teachers of lower ability classes who were more academically successful seemed to encourage their students to express themselves, even to the extent of tolerating relatively high rates of called-out questions and comments. These teachers also tended to be friendlier, accepting more social contacts from their students and being more tolerant of personal requests. (p. 58)

Table 44

Correlations of Rand Efficacy 2 with Classroom Process Variables (significance level, p<.10)

Item		r	p
	TPOR		
T3	T makes some thing center of P's attention	-.36	.03
	CCS		
B3	Total group with T	-.32	.06
B4	Small group with T	.29	.09
B13	T attends P closely	.33	.05
B15	T attends simultaneous activity	-.60	.0002
B25	Seatwork without T	.29	.09
B40	T gives reason, direction	-.36	.03
B42	P seeks reassurance	.38	.03
B44	P shows fear	-.32	.06
B45	P shows apathy	-.44	.007
A10	P says, "No," I won't, etc.	.28	.10
A14	P commands or demands	.29	.08
A37	P pushes or pulls, holds	-.33	.05
A39	P is left out	-.40	.01
A44	T gives individual attention	.32	.06
A58	P praises another	-.30	.08
M4	T complies with P request (T initiated)	.30	.08
M7	T complies with P request (P initiated)	.32	.06
M21	T asks for P status	.35	.04
M26	T suggests, guides	-.36	.03
M29	T gives feedback, cites reason	-.41	.02
M52	T gives behavioral rule	.30	.08
M113	T scolds, punishes	-.41	.01
M135	T touches, pats P	.33	.06
M173	T glares, frowns	.30	.08

CHAPTER 6

Strategies for Improving Teachers' Sense of Efficacy

Implicit in the often cited dictum, "If you want to understand something, try to change it," (Bronfenbrenner, 1976, p. 6) is the assumption that efforts to change a phenomenon are likely to result in outcomes that can illuminate critical relationships and interdependencies. Aware of the power of "transforming experiments" to contribute to significant social change as well as theoretical clarification of constructs, Bronfenbrenner (1976) recommended that experimental changes be deliberately introduced into social systems. Applying Bronfenbrenner's rationale to our study of teachers' sense of efficacy, we conducted a small scale pilot effort to increase teachers' sense of efficacy. Our objective was to explore various approaches to attitude change in order to elucidate factors influencing teachers' sense of efficacy.

In recent years, a number of advocates of the process-product approach to teacher effectiveness have found that teacher behaviors can be changed by workshops and training materials that demonstrate the teaching behaviors associated with increased student achievement (Anderson, Evertson, & Brophy, 1979; Good & Grouws, 1979; Stallings, Needels, & Stayrook, 1979). In contrast, other researchers have insisted that direct efforts to change behaviors are not likely to have long-term effectiveness. After an attempt to train teachers to use "origin teaching styles," Cohen, Emrich, and deCharms (1976/77) concluded that it is not enough to train teachers to know what to do; teachers must want to change and must be instructed in how to change if behavior change efforts are to be effective. Fenstermacher (1978) pointed out that teachers' subjectively reasonable beliefs will maintain their behaviors despite objectively reasonable evidence to the contrary, unless strong evidence is provided to challenge their beliefs, and he contended that research must address the question of why teachers engage in the behaviors they do, if a significant and lasting change in teacher behaviors is the objective.

The basic assumption underlying this study was that teachers' sense of efficacy is a major determinant of student academic achievement. Derived from this assumption is the prediction that teachers' sense of efficacy is a mediator of specific teacher behaviors that contribute to student achievement. Thus, the question of how to influence teacher behavior change is integral to an understanding of the role of teachers' sense of efficacy in affecting student achievement. The issue of whether to focus on change of specific teacher behaviors or to attempt to influence teacher attitude change directly has not been adequately resolved in the research literature, although recent studies of cognitive behavior modification (Meichenbaum, 1977) and attribution retraining (Fowler & Peterson, 1981; Schunk, 1981) suggest that a combination of attitude and behavior change is likely to be more effective than either attitude or behavior change alone.

To provide some evidence on the question of effective behavior change, three approaches to change of teacher behavior were compared:

(1) a process-product approach to teacher change, based on materials developed by Grouws and Good (1979);

(2) an attitude change approach, based on McClelland and and deCharms' motivation change projects (McClelland, 1978), and

(3) an integrated, process-product, attitude change approach, combining the materials from workshops 1 and 2.

Subjects

Forty-eight teachers of basic skills in mathematics and communications from four high schools participated in the study of teacher behavior change. The sample consisted of 28 white female, 16 white male, 1 black male, and 3 black female teachers. The teachers had an average of 10 years experience, with a range of experience extending from 1 to 35 years, with the median being 8 years of experience. In light of the problems encountered in introducing more than one treatment in a single school, three high schools, similar in size and racial and social class distributions, were selected, and a different treatment was presented to the basic skills teachers in each of of the three schools; the basic skills teachers at a fourth school were included for observation as a control group receiving no training or materials.

Procedures

To compare the relative effectiveness of the three different approaches to teacher change, three workshops and sets of training materials were developed. The first workshop was based on the experimental paradigm developed from process-product research (Anderson, Evertson, & Brophy, 1979; Good & Grouws, 1979; Stallings, Needels, & Stayrook, 1979). Specifically, the materials used were designed by Grouws and Good (1979) and adapted for use with high school basic mathematics and communication skills classes. The workshop included a didactic presentation of process-product research findings and a small-group discussion of strategies for application of the research findings with mathematics and communications skills teachers meeting in separate groups. Teachers were then provided with training materials and encouraged to study them and apply the principles and behaviors in their classrooms. The second workshop was based on the motivation change strategy developed by McClelland (1965) and utilized effectively by Alschuler, Tabor, and McIntyre (1971) and deCharms (1968; 1976) in training programs with students and teachers. Four specific components comprise the McClelland motivational change program: (1) conceptualization of the attitude, (2) self-study in relation to the attitude, (3) planning and goal setting, and (4) group support (McClelland, 1965). In the second workshop we attempted to incorporate McClelland's four components into a program to increase efficacy. Teachers were asked to engage in a self-analysis of their own sense of efficacy by writing stories in response to two thematic apperception-type stimuli, "A teacher talking with a parent" and "A teacher talking with a student." (See Appendix P). The teachers then scored their stories for sense of efficacy, according to a system derived empirically from the responses to the TAT-type stimuli obtained from our sample of high and low efficacy middle school teachers. (See pages 446-448.) After scoring their stories, we discussed ways in which their sense of efficacy was likely to affect their interactions with students. Behavioral examples used in this discussion were drawn from our observations in the classrooms of the high and low efficacy middle school teachers. The teachers were provided with training materials (See Appendix Q.) and encouraged to study them and apply the ideas in their work with students.

For the third workshop to the extent that time with teachers permitted, we combined the presentations from the previous two workshops. We also provided them with copies of the training materials from both workshops.

Because of time constraints, each workshop was limited to a two-hour presentation at each of the three schools. Materials were left with teachers in the hope that they would stimulate further interest and thought and, ultimately, behavior change. The experimental paradigm employed by the process-product teacher effectiveness researchers suggests that a brief presentation accompanied by a set of training materials can be effective in producing behavior change. At each workshop we emphasized our interest and willingness to provide whatever support and assistance the teachers might consider helpful, and we encouraged them to become involved in our work as co-researchers rather than as subjects. To assess the effectiveness of the workshop and materials, teachers were observed on at least two occasions approximately six weeks prior to and following the workshops. The criterion measure was the rating of student attention to task on the Soars' Classroom Climate and Control Systematic Observation Schedule.

Results

The means and standard deviations of the CCS student attention rating for the basic skills teachers who participated in one of the three programs and the control group teachers are presented in Table 45. Comparison of the differences among the school means using one-way analysis of variance revealed no significant differences among the four groups of basic skills teachers, $\underline{F}(1, 27)=.27$, $\underline{p}>.05$.

Discussion

Considerable controversy exists regarding the most effective strategy for effecting change in teachers' classroom behavior. Koehler (1981) outlined four major change strategies:

(1) Change teachers by changing their behaviors;

(2) Change teachers by changing the school and/or system organizational structure;

Table 45

Means and Standard Deviations for Each School on the CCS Student Attention Rating

School	Group	Mean	Standard Deviation
School 1	Efficacy	4.06	.50
School 2	Process-Product	3.90	.60
School 3	Efficacy/Process-Product	3.40	2.34
School 4	Control	3.69	.50

(3) Change teachers by giving them an understanding of their decision-making processes, their language and the consequences of these; altering their theories and/or belief systems;

(4) Change teachers by changing the schools, that is, both teachers and students.

The first strategy, change teachers by affecting their behavior, is supported by recent experimental studies based on teacher effectiveness, process-product research (Evertson, Stallings, Needels, & Stayrook, 1979). Efforts to affect teacher behavior by providing assistance through workshops and training materials have demonstrated effectiveness in increasing students' achievement scores, though results have not been completely consistent (Gage & Coladarci, 1980) nor has the long-term effectiveness of such training efforts been examined. The direct behavior change strategy has a theoretical basis in behaviorism; that is, it is assumed that the positive effects associated with behavior change will maintain the behaviors.

The guiding assumption of research carried out within the structural perspective is that structural features of the teaching environment, in large part, determine teacher behaviors. Consequently, change in teacher behavior is contingent on change in the structural elements of the school or system that influence the roles, activities, and relationships that teachers assume. For example, the size of classes and the number of classes and preparations that teachers are assigned place significant constraints on the type of activities the teacher is able to implement in the classroom.

Strategy three, typical of ethnomethodological and decision-making research (Shavelson & Stern, 1981), is based on the assumption that teachers' behaviors are governed by their thinking and decision-making processes; consequently, change efforts must be directed to the teachers' information processes and belief systems. This strategy is supported conceptually by Fenstermacher (1978) who argued that efforts to influence teacher behavior change without confronting their supportive belief systems are likely to be ineffectual.

Strategy four derives from the "Effective Schools" research that indicates that a systems approach to change provides the social support necessary to sustain individual commitment and development.

According to Koehler, the Effective Schools research suggests that strategy four has the greatest potential for success. The results of the change efforts of the Teacher Efficacy Study provide tentative support for Koehler's contention in that our efforts to change teacher behavior (strategy 1) and teachers' belief systems (strategy 3) seem to have had minimal impact on teacher and student behavior. A number of explanations are possible to account for our failure to find support for the three training approaches attempted in our study, the most prominent ones being the minimal amount of contact time we had with teachers and the timing of the posttest observations of the treatment groups in late spring when "deterioration" in student behavior has been demonstrated to occur (Evertson & Veldman, 1981). Our intuitive assessment of the teachers' reactions to these workshops is that the process-product workshop was perceived as the most useful on the part of the teachers. We conclude this primarily because the mathematics teachers asked us to repeat the process-product workshop for them during the early weeks of the following fall semester. However, we are pessimistic about the potential for strategies one and three to have a pervasive and long-term effect because they fail to provide a supportive environment for maintenance of change.

Teachers in the school that participated in the strategy one, behavior change, workshop were very outspoken about their reluctance to adopt many of the procedures recommended in the workshops, because of the lack of administrative support for their efforts and their excessively heavy teaching loads. They were especially resistant to the idea of group meetings designed to coordinate their curriculum goals and strategies, despite a strong consensus that such an effort was desperately needed. Considered from the orientation of teachers' sense of efficacy, we suspect that this reaction is due in large part to the teachers' belief that the students enrolled in thier basic skills classes are unlikely to benefit substantially from an improved curriculum.

The total school level commitment that characterizes Koehler's strategy four was evident in the climate of the middle schools in our study and seems essential for long-term maintenance of change. The middle school teachers expressed higher job satisfaction, had higher expectations for student success, and a trend toward a higher sense of efficacy than the junior high teachers. These findings support the current focus on the total school climate as the medium for creating effective schools. As Koehler suggested, the opportunity for teachers and administration to talk professionally about teaching may be an important contributor to teacher effectiveness and may be due, in large part, to the structural and social supports provided by the school's overall climate of commitment enhanced, in the case of our middle school, by its team organization and participative decision-making.

Analyzing our findings according to Bronfenbrenner's assumption that change efforts illuminate critical relationships, we conclude that effective change efforts require a climate of commitment to change. In the context of ecological theory, system-wide articulation and support are essential for enduring change.

In conclusion, results of our behavior change effort suggest that the most successful approach to teacher change would require a coordination of all four strategies described by Koehler. Teachers can benefit from workshops that outline effective teaching behaviors (strategy one) if they are provided with organizational structures that insure adequate planning and teaching time, and administrative support (strategy two), and provided they confront and overcome personal beliefs and group norms that militate against effective teaching behaviors (strategy three) and, most important, provided they occur in a total school atmosphere that is committed to change and the pursuit of academic excellence (strategy four).

CHAPTER 7

Efficacy and the Teacher's Role: An Analysis of Ethnographic Interview Data

Introduction

The study of teacher efficacy demands a social-psychological investigation of how teachers define their work, the forces that impinge on their definition and the meaning structures that undergird and legitimate their professional life. Teacher efficacy, as defined for the purposes of this study, refers to a teacher's stated assessment of the educability of students from poor home environments and of the teacher's personal ability to facilitate learning in such children. Efficacy attitudes were measured by two Likert items:

1. When it comes right down to it, a teacher really can't do much because a student's motivation and performance depends on his or her home environment.

   1)Strongly agree 2)Agree 3)Neither agree nor disagree 4)Disagree 5)Strongly disagree

2. If I really try hard, I can get through to even the most difficult or unmotivated student.

   * 1)Strongly disagree 2)Disagree 3)Neither agree nor disagree 4)Agree 5)Strongly agree

These and other efficacy measures are discussed in detail in Chapter 4 of this report.

High efficacy scores reflect a teacher's confidence that students from poor homes can be taught and that the teacher has the professional skills to help such students learn. Low efficacy scores reflect a teacher's suspicion that such children cannot learn and that the teacher cannot help them overcome their learning problems. We will refer to teachers with high efficacy scores as possessing a high sense of efficacy or being "high efficacy teachers." We will refer to teachers with low efficacy scores as having a low sense of efficacy or being "low efficacy teachers."

Forty high school, basic skills teachers, five junior high English and social studies teachers, and five middle school English and social studies teachers took part in this phase of the efficacy study. High school teachers came from three schools, two of which served a small city population,[1] and one was located in a rural community.[2] The junior high and middle schools were located in a small city.[3] All schools were integrated and served populations of poverty students ranging from a low of 15 percent of the student body to a high of 49 percent (see Table 46). All teachers completed a lengthy questionnaire and allowed observers from the research team in their classrooms. Twenty three high school teachers and ten middle and junior high school teachers agreed to be interviewed. Typically interviews took place in the teacher's classroom, after school, or during a free period, and lasted for approximately 50 minutes.

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* Numbers on this item have been reversed from the way they appeared on the questionnaire in order to reflect how the items were scored.

Observational data gathered in the classrooms of low and high efficacy teachers suggested that efficacy attitudes were related to how teachers defined and adjusted to their professional roles. Some teachers defined their professional competency in terms of their ability to reach and teach all students, including the "slowest kids in the class." Others believed themselves to be excellent teachers even though they ignored many students who were learning little or nothing in their classes. In order to better understand the relationship between efficacy and the role expectations of teachers we undertook a role analysis of teachers in the five schools we studied. This chapter reports the findings of our role analysis and discusses its significance for the questions of efficacy.

This chapter is divided into nine sections. In the first section, Role Analysis, we discuss the sociological concepts of role and professional socialization. Section II sets forth the methodology employed in this study. Section III, The Context of Teaching, presents data and reviews literature suggesting that the social-psychological milieu of teaching is characterized by professional uncertainty and personal doubt. The fourth section, Teacher Role Expectations, deals with the three domains of the teaching role; classroom management, relationships with students, and instruction. Each of the three domains is discussed under a separate heading. The fifth section, the Role Expectations Checklist, summarizes the components of the teaching role.

In Section VI, Peer Pressure, we discuss the effects peer sanctions have on teacher behavior and prescriptions of professional competence. Section VII, Vulnerability and Impression Management, is divided into three subsections. The first discusses teacher efforts to present a positive impression to colleagues and the second discusses the limits teachers place on impression management. A third subsection shows how peer pressure within many schools promotes teacher conformity to faculty role expectations and discourages collaboration and change.

Section VIII, Teaching Poverty Students, is also divided into four subsections. The introduction discusses the distribution of efficacy scores in our sample, while the second subsection discusses the threat low-achieving, poverty students pose to the professional self-esteem of

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[1] Population 81,371

[2] Population 1,826

[3] Population 81,371

Table 46

Racial Composition and Percentage of Poverty Students in Participating Schools

School	Students						Free or Reduced Lunch	
	Total		Black		White			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	1403	100	362	25.8	1041	74.2	227	16.2
2	1137	100	519	45.6	618	54.9	549	49.3
3	669	100	249	37.2	420	62.8	298	43.2
4	1621	100	364	22.5	1257	77.5	244	15.1
Middle School	971	100	327	33.7	644	66.3	455	46.9
Junior High	945	100	342	36.2	603	63.8	418	44.2

teachers. It is suggested that high efficacy teachers deal with these competency threats differently than do low efficacy teachers. The second sub-section discusses the tendency of low efficacy teachers to attribute student failure to the students themselves. In the third sub-section it is shown that high efficacy teachers recognize the problem facing low-achieving students and see it as the teacher's responsibility to help such students overcome these difficulties. Section IX reviews the findings presented in this chapter.

Section I

Role Analysis

Every work place presents a social-psychological milieu that the novice is expected to learn and absorb. This milieu includes more or less explicit role definitions for each position (status) within an organization. The social science literature contains many highly technical definitions of the term, role. We need not explore the intricacies of that literature here. For our purposes it will suffice to define role as that pattern of behavior and expressed beliefs status holders are expected to display on the job and sometimes off the job, as well. The process by which novices learn their assigned job roles is called professional socialization.

The socialization process need not and, in fact, usually is not the result of deliberate programs of training or indoctrination. Individuals can learn what is expected of them by merely experiencing the social-psychological milieu of the work place. This is not to suggest that socialization is an irresistible process. Individuals can and do resist the pressures either through overt action, compromise, or subtle subversion. However, an individual's resistance is set against social-psychological forces that exist in the work itself. Individuals feel the pressure of these forces while in the very process of active resistance or compromise. In that sense roles can be understood as social facts which cannot be simply willed out of existence (Durkheim, 1966).

Adjusting to the expectations of the work situation is usually a semi-conscious process. As individuals conform to the expectations of others, they simultaneously develop an occupational self image compatible with the role demand of their jobs.

Establishing an occupational self image is complicated by a number of factors. First, some role demands are subtle and are not explicitly part of the occupational rules or prevailing ideology of the profession. For example, teachers may learn that it is "bad form" to advertise one's classroom accomplishments in the teachers' lounge because other teachers may become resentful at having to match such achievements.

Second, role demands are not always stable and may shift as changes occur in the work setting. A change in the administration of a school or a change in class assignments may alter the teacher's role in significant ways. Adjusting to these shifts can be unsettling.

Third, role demands are sometimes ambiguous or even contradictory. For example, the teaching profession includes teachers who are "hard-nosed" and others who are "soft-hearted." Coming to terms with such behavior options is a part of the ongoing socialization process.

The fact that teachers in training had higher efficacy scores than experienced teachers led us to believe that there was something in the social-psychological milieu of schools that decreased the efficacy attitudes of many, but not all, teachers. Variability in efficacy scores among teachers, though not great, was large enough to suggest that professional expectations of the teacher's role do not include a specific set of efficacy beliefs.[4] That is to say, it is acceptable among the teachers we studied to express doubts concerning the educability of low-achieving poverty students and to express uncertainty regarding their personal ability to help such students learn. We decided to study teacher roles because we suspected teacher efficacy to be related to the process by which teachers adjust to the role expectations of their profession.

Section II

Methodology

Ethnographic interviews were conducted with five middle school teachers, five junior high school teachers and 23 basic skills teachers from three separate high schools.[5] The basic skills teachers taught from one to six compensatory education classes in arithmetic or communications skills. Students were assigned to such classes if they failed one or more portions of the Florida Basic Skills exam administered in the 10th grade. Ninth grade students with low Metropolitan Achievement Test scores were also assigned to basic skills classes.[6]

Interviews were conducted in private, during free periods of the school day or after school and lasted from 30 minutes to two hours. The average interview took about 50 minutes. Most were finished in one sitting toward the end of our classroom observation period. However, scheduling problems made it necessary to conduct three interviews in two sessions of 30 minutes each.

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[4] For a discussion of the efficacy scores of experienced teachers and teachers in training, see page 311 of this report.

[5] For a discussion of the differences between middle schools and junior high schools, see page 26 of this report.

[6] Ninth graders whose Metropolitan Achievement Test scores were one standard deviation below the mean of ninth grade students in Florida were assigned to Basic Skills classes.

Similar open-ended questions were asked of all teachers, though the questions asked of middle and junior high school teachers differed somewhat from those asked of high school teachers. A list of the interview questions asked of both groups is included in Appendix R . Questions centered on definitions of the teacher role; educational objectives; the rewards of teaching; classroom difficulties; perceptions of low-achieving, low SES students; and relations with students, peers, and administrators. Interviews were detailed and conversational. We often asked questions about specific occurrences we had observed in the teacher's classroom. We followed leads provided by respondents, probed to clarify the meaning of what was being said, tested ideas, and checked to see if views expressed by a few teachers were shared by their colleagues.

Interviews were generally recorded. In three cases when teachers asked not to be interviewed or the tape recorder failed, extensive notes were taken in longhand. Small tape recorders and long-playing tapes were utilized to minimize the tape recorder's intrusion into the interview process. Interviews were conducted in the teachers' classrooms or other school locations that offered privacy. Interviews were transcribed from tapes or notes into manuscripts of 10 to 40 pages.

We interviewed all the middle and junior high school teachers in whose classrooms we observed. However, we only interviewed those high school teachers who volunteered to meet with us during the last weeks of the school year. Our classroom observations in four high schools led us to suspect that the teachers we interviewed were generally representative of the school faculty. However, one group appeared to be under-represented. Three highly anxious, though experienced, teachers who were assigned a heavy load of basic skills classes declined our interview request.

Interviewers paid close attention to what respondents had to say and frequently probed for further information or clarity. A conscious attempt was made to minimize formality and to make the interview process as friendly and conversational as possible. Interviewers tried not to assume that they understood the taken-for-granted, commonsense understandings of the teachers they interviewed. For example, if a teacher referred to a class as "illiterate," the interviewer encouraged the teacher to explain what he or she meant by that term. When a teacher said she thought that poverty students would "do all right in life," the interviewer asked for the meaning of that phrase. On at least two occasions interview probing disturbed the equilibrium of the interview, and the teachers appeared annoyed and somewhat more guarded with their answers. On such occasions interviewers changed the topic and took it up again only after a new rapport had been established.

Teachers were told prior to the interviews that the research team was interested in finding out what it was like to teach in their school and in their classrooms. High school teachers were told that the researchers were especially interested in knowing what it was like teaching basic skills to compensatory education students. All teachers were assured that their anonymity would be respected. An effort has been made in this chapter and elsewhere in this report to protect the anonymity of the teachers who participated in this research.

Interview data were analyzed using methods detailed in James Spradley's The Ethnographic Interview. Particular attention was paid to data that bore on the question of the teacher's professional role, peer relationships, presentations of self, and perceptions of teachers' relationships with poverty students.

Section III

The Context of Teaching: Isolation and Doubt

Research literature states and our own research confirms that teaching is an isolated profession. The physical structure of the typical school places teachers within assigned classrooms. There they are responsible for the organization and presentation of specific bodies of knowledge, for specified groups of students, during specified periods of the day. Typically, there is little opportunity for peer interaction, and the school does not need such interaction in order to run smoothly. Though the faculty shares responsibility for educating the student body, teachers carry out this responsibility sequentially rather than communally (Dreeben, 1970; Jackson, 1968; Lortie, 1975; McPherson, 1972; Metz, 1978; Powell, 1980).

Isolation from peers deprives teachers of the opportunity to see others at work and to develop a shared technical culture (Dreeben, 1970, pp. 85, 99; Lortie, 1975, pp. 55-81). The apparent absence of professionally sanctioned goals and scientifically verified techniques leaves every teacher free to make his or her own classroom decisions[7] and ultimately to calculate his or her own professional competence. Yet teaching provides a few day to day (or year to year) assurances that a teacher's decisions have been wise and effective and that students are making progress academically, socially, or psychologically.[8] As a consequence, teachers are vulnerable to self doubt. The teachers we interviewed expressed their uncertainties in many ways:

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[7] Dan C. Lortie, School Teacher: A Sociological Study (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), p. 81. "People in other fields of work also have occasions to doubt their professional efficacy and the value of the service they offer. In fields where people perceive their knowledge (and their ignorance) as jointly shared, the individual burden is reduced. A person can take comfort from his compliance with normal expectations within the occupation; he can feel he did everything possible within 'the state of the art.' (Physicians so argue when they are charged with malpractice.) Then the individual can cope with unpleasant outcomes by sharing the weight of his failure and guilt; his inadequacy is part of the larger malignancy of the field. Teachers derive little consolation from this source; an individualistic conception of practice exacerbates the burden of failure."

> It's not that those students are bad. They are not discipline problems, but I feel. . .they are not interested in coming to school, and I am not doing a good job teaching them. I have not interested them to the point that they want to learn. I really feel like the class for them has been a waste.
>
> I gave a test at the end of the school year in which I reviewed material we had gone over since the fall. Most of my students didn't do very well. I felt as if (I were running) a diploma factory.
>
> For a while I though I'd quit teaching. I just felt kind of useless because I was going through long periods of time thinking that I wasn't doing any good for anybody.
>
> With my brightest kids, the door is open and they can go to college. But with that middle group I have to ask, "What the hell am I teaching for?" They're not smart enough to go to college. And because of their color and their rural background they're not going to get good jobs. So what the hell are they in high school for?
>
> I sometimes [worry] about whether I'm getting the point across, maybe I should have presented [the material] another way, are the kids listening, do they care about this material as much as I do?
>
> I don't know that what I'm teaching will make any difference. It doesn't do my students a whole lot of good. It makes me sad to see some of my students leave, and I think, "Oh, boy, what's going to happen to you?" I. . . feel they need the basics. But I wish I had something else to offer them. The problem is that we're not teaching them anything they can use later on.

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[8] Mary Metz, Classrooms and Corridors (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press,1978), pp. 19-20. "Teachers have no way of checking on their students' memory of material even a year later, much less when they come to need it in the vicissitudes of adult life. Much learning is intended not as an end in itself but as a basis for developing broad capacities. It is expected that one develops a more logical mind from learning algebra or gains creativity from writing free-form poetry. But how can one assess such capacities reliably, let alone trace their origin? If education is supposed to in part strengthen the character or richness of personality, the problem of measurement defies description."

A first-year teacher contemplated leaving the profession because, as she put it,

> I don't think I've done a great deal of good. When they had to take a test [at the end of the year] they didn't do much better than they did at the beginning. That was when it really hit me. I tried to give a review assignment that would get them ready for the semester test. But they acted as if they had never seen the material before. And I just sat there and thought, "There has got to be a better way to teach."

We asked an enrichment teacher how he could tell if he had met his objective at the end of a class. He answered: "I don't know. I really don't. In fact, I really don't know. I suppose. . .I use my own subjective judgement." The same teacher reported that he had trouble with "boys who want to push. . ., the ones [who want to] see how much they can get away with." We asked what he could do to help such students, and his answer revealed the depth of his helplessness. "I don't know. I really don't," He said, "I don't have one answer for that. I guess we try to give them things they want to do, hoping that being interested will make them do better."

Another teacher worried that she had lost the knack of teaching and that other teachers were losing it as well.

> I've been fairly successful up until the past two years. But these last few years have been frustrating. It bothers me that a lot of teachers come in to school and after a short while are just as jaded as the rest of us. You'd think that their enthusiasm would stick at least for two or three years. But it doesn't. That's not the way it was when I started teaching. I had six or seven years when I was involved in all kinds of activities. I had my greatest fun in working with the kids after school. But now things are just the opposite. I get as far away from school as I can. It's totally different now. It's very sad to me. It used to be that there was a lot of loyalty among kids. It's different now. So I'm doing some changing of my goals. I'd like to work in some capacity with students but not in the classroom. I've been walking into the same classroom, facing the same kinds of students, and getting the same kinds of results too long. That's why I need a change.

No teachers we interviewed were convinced that they had failed as teachers; everyone reported successes in which they took pride and from which they drew hope. All teachers had a collection of accomplishments and skills with which they could battle the uncertainties that pervade their profession.

> I think I'm bright and I think the students pick up on that. I think I'm pretty good at. . .helping them get what I want them to get.
>
> I can relate to the kids and most of the time I get across what I want to get across. [Of course] with my basic skills classes. . .even the smallest breakthrough is terrific.
>
> I'm sort of proud of the record I had this year [in my compensatory education classes]. These classes started out with nobody passing the [State Assessment] test last year. [But this year] 87 percent of my first period class and 53 percent of my second period class passed the test. So with these results I'm satisfied with my procedures and I think the kids are, too. . .
>
> [It is rewarding] to see a student graduate. . ., get married, and get a job. The other day I was walking down the street and a girl came up to me and I didn't even recognize her. She has completed four years of [college] and was getting a job starting at $17,500, and it made me feel good.
>
> I know one thing, I'm really not scared. . .I think I've accomplished a lot and I think the students have learned a lot. . .
>
> Maybe someone else could have succeeded [with my worse class this year], but I feel I haven't. But I think I did better than a lot of teachers would have done. I can name three teachers right here at this school who would have gone home crying at the end of the day.
>
> I care about my students. I don't feel that I'm going to work when I get up in the morning. That's the truth. I swear to the Lord above. Now I get frustrated. I experience burnout from time to time, but I enjoy teaching.
>
> I was raised in a family of teachers. I guess I have teaching in my blood. And I have had a lot of positive feedback. . .People have told me that I'm a good teacher. I think I'm better than average teacher. I really don't doubt my abilities very often. I do get discouraged on occasion.

The above comments of accomplishments and pride illustrate that most teachers find satisfaction in their work but that achievements are hard to come by and difficult to document. Even in these self-congratulatory comments we find some hints of uncertainty and evidence of the fragile nature of satisfaction. In basic skills classes teachers must be satisfied with "even the smallest breakthrough" or with only 53 percent of a high school class passing an elemental state assessment test. One teacher asserted that she has "accomplished a lot" but did not discuss the nature of her accomplishments. Another teacher took pride in the fact that people had congratulated him for being a "good teacher" but did not know how these people arrived at that conclusion. Other teachers rested their professional pride on even more subjective criteria. They reported that they were "not scared," and that they looked forward to work in the morning. These findings are compatible with the work of Philip Jackson who has reported that teachers do "not often turn to objective measures of achievement for evidence of [their] effectiveness and as a source of professional satisfaction."

The theme of uncertainty that ran through our teacher interviews does not suggest that most teachers see themselves as professional failures. The theme merely points out that a majority of teachers have doubts about their competence which they can usually hold at bay but can rarely push completely out of their consciousness. To convince themselves and their several audiences of their competence is a difficult and perpetual task. Doubt lurks on the peripheries of every teacher's professional life-world. Questions that can never be conclusively answered keep returning to the teacher's mind. Why did so many students fail the mid-term exam? Am I doing enough? What will become of the low-achieving students in my class? How can I be sure that students are learning and if they are, how can I be sure that what they are learning will help them later on? Such questions are worrisome and threaten the rewards the teacher finds in the profession. As Dan Lortie has put it:

> Endemic uncertainties complicate the teaching craft and hamper the earning of psychic rewards. Intangibility and complexity impose a toll; built-in difficulties include assessing performance, balancing demands and relationships, and managing the self under provocation. In each instance the technical culture [of the profession] falls short of resolving the issue; it is most unlikely that so many teachers would experience difficulty if effective solutions were at hand. Although an individual teacher may escape some of the problems we have discussed, it is highly improbable that anyone can avoid them all. Some kind of uncertainty usually accompanies classroom teaching (1975, p. 159).

We agree with Lortie that the "outside observer is again and again impressed by the lack of specific attention to these matters in teacher training, the literature on teaching, and the talk of school administrators." (1975, p. 159). As we shall see later in this chapter, the uncertainties which Lortie claims to be endemic to the teaching profession are closely related to the issue of efficacy and hamper many teachers' ability to help low-achieving students.

The public nature of the teacher's work and the pervasive nature of teacher uncertainty led our research team to believe that the teachers we interviewed had found some means for at least minimally protecting themselves from internal and external threats to their professional self-esteem. We suspected that these protective devices would be found in the professional role expectations teachers held for themselves and their colleagues. We turn now to the issue of role expectations.

Section IV

Teacher Role Expectations

We investigated teacher role expectations by asking if there were any poor teachers in the school and, if there were, how the respondents knew that these teachers were not doing an adequate job. The answers teachers gave provide an image of what teachers should not be doing. We compared this negative image against teachers' descriptions of good teaching. We found that respondents shared remarkably consistent expectations of what teachers should be and do. The role expectations of teachers fell into three domains: classroom management, relationships with students and instruction.[9]

Classroom Management

Teachers are expected to control students' classroom behavior. Those who are unable to do so are defined by colleagues as being poor teachers. Teachers told us:

> If a classroom is really loud and out of control, I consider that a sign of bad teaching. I don't mind an active classroom. But a really out of control classroom means bad teaching.
>
> We had a teacher here once whose students misbehaved terribly. If my students behaved like that, I wouldn't be able to get up in the morning. His room had no windows and when he wasn't looking, the students would slip over and turn off the lights. The room would be thrown into total darkness. So the teacher started bringing a flashlight to school so he could find the light switch. Before long students found a way to slip the batteries out of the flashlight and then they turned the classroom lights off again. The teacher would have to grope around in the dark, looking for the light switch. I couldn't face that, I couldn't go to school every day. I don't know how he did it.
>
> Now I'm not saying that my classes are perfect. But you can tell when somebody's classes are out of control. That's a big

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[9] For reasons of conceptual clarity these domains will be discussed separately. However, it must be kept in mind that the domains are intricately interrelated.

> part of being a good teacher. If you can't have the kids' attention, you can't do anything.
>
> How do I know I'm a good teacher? I don't know, I just feel I'm a good teacher. I don't have many discipline problems at all, and I think that's the basis for good teaching. If you can't discipline, my dear, you can just hang it up.
>
> Poor discipline is a sign of poor teaching.
>
> It's not a sign of good discipline when a student walks out of a class or confronts a teacher. Those are signs of poor teaching.

The same point is made by a school administrator. When we asked him to name the least effective teachers in his school, he responded:

> Ah-h-h, gee, that's a hard one to answer. I bet no one likes that question. I don't know if Jane Doe is really effective. . . .I would add that any faculty members that are having classroom management problems, you know, problems controlling the class, they are not as effective as they should be.

Any teacher who fails to maintain order in the classroom will be judged negatively by his or her fellow teachers and school administrators. While class control is a ubiquitous requirement, no prescriptions were offered by teachers on how control is to be maintained. However, teachers did say it was important that discipline be maintained without incurring the wrath or ill will of students. As one teacher put it:

> Students think I'm a mean tyrant but I think they generally like me. It seems to me that there is something wrong if day after day students talk about a teacher in highly negative terms. You can be mean and strict without being hated for it.

The emphasis of most teachers is on results, not methods. Teachers can be "mean" as long as students don't come to hate them in the process. Widespread student disapproval, however, is a sign of poor teaching.

Relationships With Students

Teachers are expected to display a genuine concern for their students. During one interview a teacher complimented a colleague by saying, "She keeps her classes in order. . .and I think she plans well and is concerned with students." A middle school teacher stated:

> There are teachers who are out for the self, who take the easiest way to get things done. But a good teacher works a lot for the kids. . .That's their main objective. [Good teachers are] always caring for students. They put students first. Even though a lot of conditions are bad at this school and there are a lot of things we don't like, good teachers block those things out when it comes to making decisions about students.

It was a universal postulate among the people we interviewed that good teachers like children and desire to help them. As one teacher put it, "I really enjoy kids. I think you have to, to be a good teacher." Another teacher said, "I feel teaching is an innate thing. You have it or you don't. If you care about people. . .you need to help them as much as you can." A third teacher commented, "I know I get too involved [with students]. But I just feel being involved is the most important thing. That's what makes a good teacher."

While concern for students is a widely accepted prerequisite for good teaching, teachers disagree on how that concern is best demonstrated. One experienced teacher complained that a colleague did not maintain formal enough relationships with her students.

> I could hardly be in her presence. She is silly and gushes and makes what I think are crass, stupid jokes. I don't think that is becoming to a professional person. She brings herself down [to the students' level] and is more like a peer with students than a professional. I think she's trying to ingratiate herself. [She wants to] be one of the kids, one of the gang.

Other teachers are not so sure formality is needed in the classroom. They believe that teachers can show concern for students by establishing a less formal relationship with the class.

> There are teachers who turn me off by their completely business-like approach. . .I keep my mouth shut because I figure that's their method of teaching and who am I to judge them? I privately think they are poor teachers. I don't like those teachers who constantly sit behind the desk. . .I like to get involved with the kids. I think a teacher who doesn't get involved isn't teaching.

Another teacher said:

> I. . .find it hard to approve of the very, very strict frowning type. We have a couple of those. Nothing is ever funny [for them] and there is no relaxation at all. I think we should all realize that students have six teachers to please. . .and that isn't easy for them.

While teachers disagree on just how intimate their relationships should be with students, there is a general consensus that extremes in either direction are undesirable. Teachers should not be aloof or unconcerned about the problems their students face. Neither should teachers become so intimately involved with their students that they become indistinguishable from the classes they teach.

We asked teachers what reputation they thought they had among students and colleagues. The answers teachers gave showed that they worked to maintain a balance between their obligation to teach and discipline students and their obligation to like and care for the young people they teach.

Question:	How do you think your students would describe you if they were being honest?
Answer:	Oh, gosh, they probably would say, "She's O.K." or "She's nice but she grades hard. When she decides to get tough, boy. . ."
Question:	And what about other teachers? How would they describe you?
Answer:	I think they would say I'm very professional.

Another teacher indicated that his students think he is "very stern and strict and hard. I make them work. I'm guessing that those are the bad things they would say. As for the good things, I think they think I'm crazy and kind of weird. Some of the students like that." When we asked a middle school teacher how her students would describe her, she responded, "They would call me a bitch, no doubt about it." However, later in the interview she said, "I got extremely close to a lot of my eighth-grade students this year. They come and tell me their problems. I never had that kind of thing happen before. I had kept my distance from students. I won't give the kids my home phone number. I won't go that far. But I'm closer than I used to be with students."

Another teacher told us:

> My students would say I'm nice. I think they would say that I care about them and that I put up with a lot from them. I don't think they would say that I was mean or anything like that. As for being effective, I think they would feel I always tried to teach them something and that I cared about them enough to do that. Fellow teachers would say that I'm an overachiever, a person who works very hard.

One respondent said that he was confident of his abilities as a teacher because, "I feel comfortable in the classroom, and I'm very structured. . .Many of my students respond, and I have a good relationship with [most of them]. The kids like me, and I like them. We're not pals, but we have mutual respect."

While teachers want to have caring relationships with their students, some worry that they will lose control of their classes if these relationships become too close. They believe that they must be harsh and perhaps a bit remote from students in order to maintain discipline and keep students on task. One high school teacher explained:

> I'm the type of person who likes to make everybody happy. I don't like to be mean. That's just something you learn

> over the years. You have to be mean, and students will finally come around. My intern is having a hard time with that now. He wants to be a nice guy. He says, "I can't be mean." I told him, "Well, forget that!" We've had a lot of conversations about it. He's just a nice person, and he has never been mean to anybody, ever. I advised him, "Be mean" (the teacher laughs). And he says, "O.K., I'm going home and take some mean pills tonight." But he has changed his perceptions--luckily it has been during his internship rather than during his first year of teaching. I think I've helped him see that you can't work for people to like you directly. [If you are firm] you get the same result, and it's a lot easier and quicker.

Instruction

It is universally expected that teachers should know their subject matter and be able to get academic material across to students. A high school math teacher explained what it takes to be a good teacher in his field.

> First of all, you have to be very sure of your math knowledge. I've worked with some [out of field] teachers who have had to ask me how to add fractions. They are assigned to teach math classes, but they don't have the knowledge to do it. You've got to be perfectly sure of your math and then you've got to know what to expect of students. You've got to know all the skills and how much students need to know. I don't think someone who is not in the field can do that though there are some who. . .really have done wonders.

The argument being made in the above quote is that teachers must know their subject matter so well that they need not think about it while teaching. They can turn their full attention to the perceptions of their pupils. Though teachers expect their colleagues to be knowledgeable, few teachers have the opportunity to assess the subject matter mastery of their peers. They seldom see their colleagues teach and coffee room discussions seldom turn to academic matters. Therefore, the assessment of a colleague's teaching skills must be based on indirect and imperfect evidence. For example, one math teacher complained:

> There have been instances when students said that they learned to solve a problem in a certain way, and that way was totally wrong. So I don't think their last teacher was competent.

Without direct knowledge of what colleagues know or how they teach their classes, the role expectations for instruction must emphasize other, more publicly observable behaviors. For example, teachers are expected to be organized and to show that they have planned ahead for their classes. A teacher explains:

> We have some very good teachers. They are organized, like the gal who was just in here. She is well organized and is typing [material for her classes] now so she will be ready for next week. She knows what she's doing, so she will succeed with her classes. I think success has to do with organization. . .and planning ahead.

Another teacher said that he knew he was good at this job because, "I've always been able to organize myself and others pretty well. I love doing it." A middle school teacher commented, "Aside from getting along with students, I have the ability to plan, which I thoroughly enjoy."

Teachers are expected to get students to do their work and, if they are really skilled, to help students enjoy the work they do. Many teachers would agree with the comments of an English teacher who said:

> I feel that if you can get students to do work outside the classroom, then you've got to be a good teacher. Most of the time students do their work in class. But if I hear students talking about a project or doing something and handing it in, then I'm sure they have a good teacher who is taking his or her job seriously.

Getting students to be interested in their work is a difficult task. To accomplish it teachers say they must plan ahead, be organized, be interesting, simplify material, show their concern for students, and do other things as well:

> You need a system of organization and the ability to simplify material you already think is simple. You also need to find creative ways to draw the students' attention.
>
> I think I can get my point across. I can relate to kids and I can handle them. I usually interest them, though there are time when I can't.
>
> What are my strong points as a teacher? For one thing, I think I know my subject matter well, and I try to keep devising ways to get it across, and I try to be understanding,perhaps I'm not as firm as some. . .other people are, but I try to make my subject interesting.
>
> I know I'm a good teacher because I know my material. I know how to teach reading. I know the skills involved in teaching. I also know how to explain the majority of the skills to students in a way they can

> understand. I can get down on their level and explain it in a way that makes sense to them.
>
> Part of being a good teacher is getting kids to care. Some teachers can help kids [do that]. So many of our kids don't care [about school] and you have to get. . .across to them. You have to get them to care about something.
>
> We had a teacher here who assigned her 11th and 12th grade classes a novel to read. It took the whole semester. Now I didn't read that book until I was 25 years old, but if I had read it in high school, I sure wouldn't have found it interesting. Now that's not my idea of teaching. Students would sit in there and read that book for the whole class. When they were done they would write in their journals what they had read that day. It was just busy work to keep students out of the teacher's hair.
>
> I think some teachers are missing the boat altogether. I don't think they believe they're doing a bad job. I think they honestly believe they're doing what other teachers do. But they need to be told that other teachers come into the classroom to teach. I'm not saying you can't have fun with your kids. I love the kids, and I love to have fun with them once in a while, but I'm being paid to teach. I'm not being paid to be their psychologist. I'm not being paid to be their mother. I'm not being paid to be their friend, by any means. I am their friend because that's the way I am, and I do mother them because that's my nature. But first and always I'm the teacher and that's what I'm being paid to do.

To sum up, teachers expect colleagues to know their subject matter, to plan ahead and present their material in an organized fashion, to simplify material so that students can understand it, and to make the subject matter interesting so students will want to learn it. They are supposed to assign work and to see that students do it, but assignments are supposed to be worth doing and should not be busy work designed merely to keep students quiet. Teachers should have positive relationships with their students but the desire to be popular or friendly should not surpass the higher priorites of classroom management and instruction.

Section V

The Role Expectations Checklist

It has been asserted throughout these pages that teaching is an uncertain profession. Evidence of this uncertainty was found in the comments of the teachers we interviewed (see pages 151-156) and within the research literature (Dreeben, 1970; Jackson, 1968; Lortie, 1975; McPherson, 1972; Metz, 1978; and Powell, 1980). Teachers enjoy no technical culture, and the profession provides few reliable and communally respected measures of teacher competence. As a result no teacher can know with assurance that he or she is doing a good job. Because teaching is done outside the view of colleagues, teachers are deprived of a consensus confirmation of their professional abilities. Thus, uncertainty is an occupational hazard of the profession with which every teacher must learn to live. The informal role expectations of colleagues provide a checklist of competency criteria that teachers can use to gauge their abilities and quiet their uncertainties. These criteria are broad enough to provide most teachers with a sense of professional competence. According to the checklist criteria, good teachers are those who:

1. Maintain order in the classroom.
2. Have few confrontations with students.
3. Do not incur the hostility or ill will of students.
4. Maintain relationships with pupils that are neither aloof nor "unprofessionally" intimate.
5. Care about students, enjoy teaching them, and are concerned about their welfare.
6. Assign tasks that students can do and will do.
7. Know their subject matter.
8. Plan ahead, are well organized, and hard working.
9. Present lessons in a clear and interesting fashion.

The uncertainties of teaching are partially assuaged by the establishment of role expectations which serve a normative function in the school. These norms are generic and call for a general outcome in the teaching enterprise rather than specific teaching behaviors. They promote no particular philosophy of education, value structure, or educational goal, save perhaps the avoidance of conflict within the social system of the school.

The role expectations checklist does not bind teachers into a professional unit organized around essentially similar values and a common body of technical knowledge. It functions only to somewhat lessen teachers' competency uncertainties. Teachers can check their performance against the role expectations checklist and receive assurance that despite their myriad doubts they are nevertheless doing what is expected of them. The checklist also serves to diminish conflicts among school teachers, to promote an attitude of conformity, and, as we shall see, to discourage educational change.

Section VI

Peer Pressure: Tales Told Around the School

Teachers know that the role expectations checklist is not solely self-administered. Other teachers are making judgments about the competence of their colleagues, and these judgments are also based on checklist criteria. We asked teachers the following questions and received answers such as these:

Teacher A

Question: Do teachers make judgments about the competence of their fellow teachers?

Answer: Unfortunately, yes. They talk.

Question: What kind of evidence do they use to make these judgments?

Answer: Generally what students say. Not just one student but what a lot of students say. If something is said over and over again, we pay attention to it. We pay attention to the discipline methods used. If we walk by a classroom and see students swinging from the ceiling, we know something is wrong. [We pay attention to] the materials. . .teachers use [and] the tests and work sheets they hand out.

There are teachers I don't think are doing a very good job, and other teachers feel the same way. Now [we] haven't sat in their classrooms but we know what's going on. We know from what kids say how much time [students] spend doing nothing.

Teacher B

Question: Do you know of teachers who are not very good in the classroom?

Answer: (The teacher is talking softly) Yes.

Question: How can you tell they're not very good?

Answer: (Again, softly and after a long pause) Well, I guess from students, though they don't always know that they've got a bad teacher. But you hear students describing what they did in class and you hear other teachers and you can tell that there are problems. . .I guess I can tell when a teacher generates enthusiasm because you can see it in their students.

Teacher C

Question: How do you know the good and bad teachers?

Answer: I think it's reputation more than anything. We hear from the kids. Kids say, "This teacher isn't pushing me." Or they say, "We're getting away with murder in this teacher's class. The teacher doesn't care what I do." I guess it is mostly reputation, which in a sense isn't fair. But it is possibly a very accurate picture of what goes on in a classroom.

Teacher D

Question: How do you know who the good and bad teachers are in your school?

Answer: I know the most about the teachers who work around me. I can tell a lot just from walking by when the doors are open. I can tell what's going on in the room across the way and next door, so I know what kind of teachers they are.

Teacher E

Question: Do teachers have opinions about the ability of their fellow teachers? And, if so, how do they come to those conclusions?

Answer: I think we all have opinions based on informal observations. We pass by someone's room and observe what's going on. Sometimes they'll tell you about their evaluations of a student and you can compare that evaluation against your own evaluation of the student in your class. And there's a lot of gossip, too. Kids will tell you about other teachers, and they'll tell you about the attitude the teacher expresses. They may say that so-an-so makes them work hard, but they like her and the class is fun.

Teacher F

Question: You told me that teachers have opinions about one another's competence. Yet teachers here appear to have very little contact. Where do teachers get the information for their opinions?

Answer: Well, I would say some of it is teacher lounge gossip, but there is some truth in it. They know the teachers who order the stacks of three or four films at a time, and they don't consider (showing films routinely) to be good teaching. And teachers judge the personal behavior quirks of other teachers. They'll make judgments if a teacher is always complaining, or they'll evaluate the way a teacher is dressed.

Information starts getting around. You walk by somebody's room and you see the movie projector going. We learn that a teacher is dragging students through a long and irrelevant novel, and we start thinking that's not good teaching. So it's not a matter of attacking the teaching methods teachers use but rather a matter of questioning their judgment. We had a teacher here who sold soap and cosmetics during class time. She'd leave classes of young students and call in juniors and seniors who were wandering the halls. She'd give them a sales pitch. You have that kind of person, and you have the teacher who overreacts to some little thing.

One teacher spilled a bottle of ink and went crazy. And you form an opinion from that kind of behavior, though it's not. . .necessarily teaching-related. You begin to think, if a person is a screwball outside the classroom, it's got to have a carry-over effect inside the classroom. Whether it does or not I really can't say. But we lump those things together to form an opinion about a person's teaching based on their personality.

Teacher G

Question: How do you know who's good and who's not?

Answer: From the comments of students. Students may tell me, "Oh, he never shows for class until 20 minutes after the period begins." Or they may say, "He'll just talk for five or ten minutes and then give the students an assignment and go to work at his desk and never circulate around the room. He allows the students to disturb the class continually and never does anything about it." Or they may say, "She allows students to cheat extensively on tests." Students may pass their papers around and the teacher doesn't even notice that it's going on. There's a fantastic amount of cheating [in some classes]. These kinds of things that you hear from students [tell you who is good and who is not]. And I know that they're not telling me something that is not true because I don't even bring it up.

Once in a while I get a student who took Algebra I and then comes to me for Algebra II. I had one student who came in at the beginning of the year. I gave him a few simple questions out of Algebra I, and he didn't know any of it. I said, "What are you doing in Algebra II? You don't know anything about Algebra I. What kind of grade did you get in Algebra I?" He said he got a B+. I said, "B+? Who did you have?" And he told me. I said, "Wow! That's fantastic. I can't believe it. How could you get a B+ when you don't know anything about Algebra I? You can't solve even the simplest equation." I gave him 2X + 8 = 16 and he didn't even know how to solve that. Anyway, that teacher is no longer here, but that's the way I find out. So I'm sure that happens with me. Students might not have liked what I did [in class], and they might say something to other teachers or the administration.

Teacher H

Question:	If a teacher is having trouble, how can they get help? Would anybody tell them what's wrong?
Answer:	I really believe someone should tell them. I believe that the principal, assistant principal, or the department chairman should tell them.
Question:	What kind of help might the chairperson of this department be able to give a teacher who is having trouble?
Answer:	I'm not sure, but they might say, "Let me explain to you how I handle this problem." But that kind of help isn't around. When teachers are having trouble the rest of us generally ignore it.
Question:	Are you saying that there is no legitimate way that a teacher can offer help to someone who is having trouble in the classroom?
Answer:	It would be great if we could help. Really. If I was blowing it I would really want to know. I would want to know it in a nice way, and I'd want to get help. I mean I want to improve and so do other people. But it's almost impossible.
Question:	So you can't talk about another teacher's teaching?
Answer:	We do among ourselves, at least I've heard it.

Question: But doesn't that occur when Teacher A talks to Teacher B about the problems Teacher C is having? They don't talk to C directly, do they?

Answer: No, we don't talk to C. No, no, no. I might help in a roundabout way. If I find an article that I think is interesting, I'll xerox it and share it with the whole department.

Question: So you tell something through the whole department that you really intend for an audience of one. And in doing that you avoid a direct confrontation with a particular teacher. Is that what you're saying?

Answer: Yes, yes. You can't come in as a relative newcomer and tell teachers who have been teaching in the area for ten years what they should be doing. I mean you can't. You cannot do it as a coworker.

The teachers we interviewed thought they had sufficient information to judge the competence of their peers. They were aware, sometimes keenly aware, that their colleagues were judging them. This awareness introduced a new level of uncertainty into the lives of the teachers in this study. A few teachers in every school were judged by their peers to be incompetent. This judgment was public in the sense that it was discussed openly among faculty members. But it was private in the sense that negative judgments were seldom, if ever, shared with the teachers being judged. Poor teachers did not know their colleagues' evaluation of their work and as a result, no teacher could be sure that their peers respected their performance. We asked teachers, "Do poor teachers know they're doing a poor job?" Here are some typical responses:

Teacher 1

> I'm glad you brought that up. I really don't think so. We've got one teacher in our department--no names, of course--who is not a good teacher by my standards, or by the standards of other department members, or by the administrators' standards. But she really doesn't know it. I think she sincerely does not know that she is not a good teacher.

Teacher 2

Question: Do poor teachers know they are doing a poor job?

Answer: Let's hope so. Everybody else knows they're poor.

Question: Do you have any reason to think they know?

Answer: No.

Question: Do you or your fellow teachers ever give them any indication that they are doing a poor job?

Answer: No. Well, administrators might tell them.

Question: Are the administrators here likely to give negative messages to teachers?

Answer: No. But the faculty knows who the poor teachers are. It's so blatant, so open, so obvious that we can't help but see it.

Question: Do teachers try and help fellow teachers who are having trouble?

Answer: No. If they ask me, I will help them. But I don't want to say anything on my own. I wouldn't criticize or judge them either. It's not my place. All I know is that they are poor teachers.

Teacher 3

Question: Do you think it's important to a teacher that he or she be well thought of by other teachers?

Answer: Yes.

Question: Do teachers have to be careful about what they say and do in order to protect their reputation?

Answer: Yes. But I don't think that the bad ones know they're being judged negatively. We don't make our criticisms public. We don't go out and tell other people what we think of them. Everybody else knows it, but the person doesn't know it. He'll go on doing what he's doing because he's so stupid.

Question: So bad teachers don't get told that they have problems?

Answer: Not unless there's a confrontation of some sort. Certainly not in a constructive or positive way.

Teacher 4

Question: Do poor teachers know they're poor teachers?

Answer: I don't think so. I don't know, maybe I'm a bad teacher and don't know it. (The teacher laughs)

Question: Who tells a bad teacher he's doing a bad job?

Answer: The department chairman may. I certainly wouldn't.

Question: And you wouldn't because. . . ?

Answer: Because it's not my place. It 's not my place to make a judgment.

The role expectation checklist relieved teachers of self doubt, at least to the degree that all teachers we interviewed stated with apparent assurance that they were "good teachers." They were able to make such statements because they believed they met the checklist criteria of competence. However, the teachers were aware that their peers were also evaluating their performance. This introduced a new level of uncertainty into their professional lives because the teachers could never know for sure that they were being given good marks by their colleagues. Like Puritans who could never know for certain if God had predestined them to go to Heaven, the teachers we studied could never be sure of the judgments of their peers. Teachers dealt with this uncertainty in different ways. Most, as we shall see, monitored their behavior carefully and tried not to do anything that would offend their peers or invite a negative evaluation of their work. Peer judgment promoted conformity. A few were offended by the pressure to conform and tried, as best they could, to ignore it. For example, one teacher felt strongly that the judgment process destroyed a faculty's sense of community. His opinions are worth quoting in full.

Question: Do your peers know you're a good teacher?

Answer: I don't know, I don't ask them.

Question: Do you know if they are good teachers?

Answer: No.

Question: Do you make judgments about their competence?

Answer: (emphatically) No.

Question: Really?

Answer: That's the truth, I don't do things like that.

Question: You don't make any professional judgments about what other teachers are doing?

Answer: No, that's not my job here.

Question: Do you think other teachers make judgments about you?

Answer: Ah, I don't know. (the teacher laughs) I guess it depends on the individual.

Question: Do you care?

Answer: No.

Question: The opinions of your peers are not important to you?

Answer: No. I do what I feel is the best job I can possibly do and that's it.

Question: Do poor teachers know they're poor teachers?

Answer: (the teacher groans and pauses) I don't know. I honestly don't know. If they are doing the best job they can do, I guess that's all you can ask out of them. So I don't know.

Question: Do teachers get support from their peers? Do they get confirmation from them that they're doing a good job?

Answer: I wouldn't want that kind of support.

Question: Why not?

Answer: Well, that's saying I'm better than somebody else. I just don't believe in that kind of thing; as a person I don't believe in it. It just doesn't sit well with me. We can't go around saying here are the good ones over here, and here are the mediocre ones over here, and here are the poor ones over here. If that was incorporated into the school system, there would always be fighting among the teachers themselves.

Now I think we have a good faculty here at this school. Everyone gets along pretty well. You always say "hi" to a teacher you see in the morning. Every time you cross someone's path they say "hi." But if we begin to stratify people into good and bad teachers, that wouldn't produce a good learning situation for students.

Question: So you're saying you don't want teachers making judgments about other teachers?

Answer: That's right. I don't want them to make a judgment. And the only way I can make sure they don't make a judgment is if I don't make a judgment.

Despite the example this teacher tried to set for others, it did not appear that he was able to dissuade his colleagues from judging one another's competence. In the final analysis, this teacher's only option was to boycott judgmental activities and to ignore, as best he could, the fact that judgments were being made about him.[10] When we asked if he thought this example would influence the behavior of others, he responded, "Well, I'm not sure. They may make judgments anyway. But [at least] I can live with myself. What's important to me is the attitude of my students, and again, the opinion I have of myself."

Section VII

Vulnerability and Impression Management: Talking a Good Game

The Need to Make a Good Impression

As the above responses indicate, teachers make judgments about one another's competence and those judgments are based largely on second-hand information from students and quick-glimpse observations of colleagues' classrooms. Of course, some checklist criteria are more visible to colleagues than other criteria. The faculty is likely to know when a teacher is having classroom management problems, confrontations with youngsters, or is generally disliked by students (see criteria 1 through 4 on the Role Expectations Checklist). Colleagues are less likely to discover that a teacher's commitment to students is low or diminishing, that the number or quality of assignments is declining, that planning is being done superficially or lessons taught poorly. These latter problems, while discoverable, are more easily hidden. And, indeed, teachers have a stake in hiding such problems if they value their professional reputation in the school.

Teachers are perpetually vulnerable to the negative evaluations of their colleagues. Every teacher must come to terms with that fact of professional life. Different teachers temper their vulnerability in different ways. We do not believe that teachers are unique in their desire to make a positive impression on their colleagues (Goffman, 1959). However, we do believe that the conditions of teaching in most schools provide educators with so little evidence of their professional achievement that they are uniquely vulnerable to self-doubt. We agree with Lortie that "teaching demands. . .the capacity to work for protracted periods without sure knowledge that one is having any positive effect on students. Some [teachers] find it difficult to maintain their self-esteem." (Lortie, 1975, p 144). The uncertainties of which Lortie speaks are heightened because these teachers are isolated from their colleagues yet are continually being judged by those around them.

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[10] We should note that we took great care when asking questions about poor teaching to inform respondents that we were not interested in identifying poor teachers by name. Occasionally teachers mentioned the names of colleagues they thought were particularly talented. It became clear in the course of interviews that this teacher was well thought of by his peers. We mention this lest a reader be tempted to think that this teacher's objection to peer evaluation was explained by his having a poor reputation in the school. This was clearly not the case.

Teachers who employ impression management techniques are understandably reluctant to talk about the methods they use to impress their colleagues. Admitting that one is working to impress others is to tarnish the very image of self-assurance that the teacher is trying to project. However, a few teachers were willing to talk about the pressures they were under and how they dealt with those pressures. Other teachers, though reluctant to discuss their own efforts at impression management, were willing to talk about the issue abstractly or to talk about the practices of unnamed colleagues. One particularly open teacher told us that she was careful about what she did in class because she feared what students would tell other teachers about her performance. She said that she had to be "more cautious" in the classroom because other teachers "can tell and awful lot about what's going on" by listening to students.

> I don't want anybody (saying) something bad about what happened in my class. I think that that one thing keeps me on my toes more than anything else: more than the principal walking in or sticking his head inside the door; more than the assistant principal or anybody else coming in. I think that keeps me on my toes. . .because I hear a lot of wild stories. You really hear some strange things. You hear an awful lot about what's going on in (other) classrooms. I don't think I'm in a position to make a judgment about what somebody else is doing. . .but I think you get an idea about how effective somebody is (by listening to what their students say).

Teachers employ impression management techniques in an effort to influence the ideas that others have about them. Teachers seldom see one another's classroom performance. Therefore, impression management entails acting as if one is a competent classroom teacher when in the presence of colleagues. Teachers advertise their accomplishments, temper their failures, and conceal their self-doubts. They try to present an image that says, "I know what I'm doing, and I'm confident that I'm doing it well." They conspicuously conform to the role expectations of their colleagues and conceal minor acts of deviance. As one teacher put it, teachers learn to "talk a good game." The same teacher went on to make what we think is a significant point. Impression management is not necessarily an act of cynical showmanship designed to fool others into believing what the actor knows is not true. Teachers tend to be their own most attentive audience. The "talk a good game" because they generally believe what they are saying and they want others to believe it too. Thus, teachers do not necessarily fabricate stories that are untrue, they simply make an effort to display their accomplishments and to cast themselves in a favorable light. One teacher, more sympathetic than cynical, discussed the games teachers play to bolster their self-esteem.

Question: What about the teachers who don't realize they're poor teachers? Can you tell me about them?

Answer: Well, that's pretty sad. I don't know whether they really think they're good teachers or not. They talk a good game but that doesn't mean that they are really (unaware) of their limitations.

Question: Do a lot of teachers talk a good game? That is, do teachers generally pretend to be more expert than they are?

Answer: Well, I guess it has to do with their self-esteem. You know, when other people think badly of you, it's hard to keep your self-image. People are concerned about what other people think.

Question: What are you saying, that teachers need to talk a good game so that other teachers will think well of them?

Answer: Yes, I think so. It's a matter of pride, I suppose.

Question: Do all teachers do that? Do they generally exaggerate their accomplishments?

Answer: Pretty much so, I guess. (They do that) during informal discussions in the teachers' lounge.

The role expectations checklist provides the topics dealt with in most impression management discussions. Teachers find ways to demonstrate that they are working hard, that they are organized, that they are planning ahead, that they care about students, and that they are getting their pupils to work. According to one interviewee, "teachers let it be known that they require a certain amount of work from their students. And they let it be known that they are tough graders and all of that."

Teachers are continually on display, and their competence is being judged at every moment by students, colleagues, and administrators. Successful impression management is possible only when teachers are in control of the events that affect the image they project to others. A teacher's image is probably most vulnerable when a colleague or administrator comes into the classroom to observe. Under such conditions, the teacher can not be sure that students will behave. Poor student behavior is a sign that the teacher has poor classroom control and that, in turn, is a sign of incompetence. Therefore, it is not surprising that many teachers are particularly uncomfortable when someone is observing in their classroom. Student misbehavior threatens their image of competence. Such situations can be nerve-wracking.

One teacher told us, "I don't care what anybody else thinks of my teaching." However, she went on to say:

> I don't like anybody in my classroom. It took me awhile to get used to your people [the research team]. But I decided to ignore it. I don't like anybody, even other kids, coming into the classroom. It's like we are a family, and when somebody comes in I get a little nervous. But I would never change anything I do. . .the principal observed me this year, and I didn't know he was coming. When he walked in I thought, "Oh, God." We were talking about Greek art, and I worried about what the students would say. Fortunately, they left their best comments until after the principal had gone.

Another teacher commented on how nervous a colleague became when she visited that teacher's classroom.

> It's a funny situation. . .when I go into one teacher's room he gets real nervous and starts yelling at the kids, telling them to sit down and be quiet the whole time I'm in there. I may have just dropped in to ask him one short question. But he's so worried and wants students to be so perfect that I have to wait until he works to get complete control of the classroom.

In this instance the teacher being visited worked feverishly to maintain classroom control, and in so doing, to present an image of competence. However, the teacher's demeanor contradicted the image he wished to project. A "good" teacher would act as if he took the good behavior of his students for granted. In the unlikely event that the students would act up, he would display his competence by handling the disruption effortlessly.

Limited Impression Managment

The uncertainties of the profession encourage teachers to employ impression management techniques while in the presence of their colleagues. However, there are social sanctions against talking too boldly about one's real or imagined accomplishments. A high school teacher spelled out the rules surrounding self-praise:

> Now we have some teachers who are very boastful about their accomplishments and what they can do. Other teachers don't like that. Don't brag, because we're all competitors and we all think we're very intelligent. We're the most intelligent people in the world, did you know that? We are, we know it all. But I don't feel I do, I really don't. But every faculty I've ever been a part of, and this is my fourth, is made up of teachers

who think they know it all.

Question:	So teachers are not supposed to brag, and they shouldn't tell too much about what they're doing because that might seem like bragging?
Answer:	That's right.
Question:	Does that have something to do with maintaining smooth relationships among faculty members?
Answer:	Yes, that's it. That's it. I don't feel it's my place to tell an incompetent English teacher how to improve her teaching. Now I'm a tactful person, and I think I could do that in a tactful way. But I don't have the courage, and I don't really feel it's my place to criticize other people's teaching.

Impression management is made more difficult when limits are placed on the amount of advertising teachers can do for themselves. As Gertrude McPherson concluded after studying the faculty at a small town school:

> To complain too much or to boast too much were both taboo at (Adams) school. Once someone boasted too loudly or complained too bitterly, others began to look. To boast was to blow your own horn at the expense of other teachers. To complain was to expose vulnerabilities and insecurity. It encouraged competition and prestige jockeying, creating doubts in the minds of the other teachers about their own standards and their ritual acceptance of the inevitability of what was. (McPherson, 1972, pp. 201-202)

Conformity and Faculty Harmony

Prestige jockeying was discouraged by imposing sanctions against artless boasting, instructional innovation, or working with other teachers to promote change. Teachers are able to keep their uncertainties in check if conformity is enforced and collaboration minimized through peer pressure. An experienced teacher spelled out some of the social norms that prevailed at her school:

> We all get along, but we're very independent. This is a very independent faculty. Most faculties I've been a member of have been very independent. You may sometimes have little cliques here and there, but that's the exception. We come in, we do our jobs,

> and that's it. We don't have time to do anything else. Those who have time, they're your incompetent ones. Those who have time to be out of their classrooms doing anything but what they're paid to do are the poor teachers.
>
> Question: So working together is almost a sign of incompetence?
>
> Answer: Well, maybe I've overstated it. But we do sometimes wonder, "Heh, how do you find time to do what you're doing? When are you doing your job?" We wonder that because we don't have the time.

The social system that causes teachers to be uncertain about their competence and professional worth also discourages teachers from working together to solve their common problems. The social norms at some schools and the time demands placed on teachers promote conformity and mitigate against faculty cooperation. We asked one teacher why her colleagues didn't help one another and why they didn't work together to promote change. She answered angrily:

> Well, there is the time element. I'm sorry, but that is the biggest problem of all. We all have one free hour at the end of the day when we're totally exhausted. We're not going to use that time to go to another teacher and talk about how to improve our teaching. That's just it. We're just too tired. The job is too demanding. We don't have time. We have papers to take home. It takes me 7 hours to grade a set of essay questions. I mean 7 hours. That's a whole Sunday. And that's just one class.

Such a comment could be construed as a plea for more time and a lightened work load so that teachers could work together to improve the school and their own performance. However, this teacher was not suggesting such a change. In her view, teachers must learn to adapt to the system as it is and should not expect the system to be changed to suit their interests or needs. She explained:

> Teaching isn't more demanding than any other work, even in my area. I think that it's demanding and if you don't want to work hard you'd better not be. . .a teacher. But being a civil engineer [is] just as demanding and being a minister is demanding, and being a judge is demanding. We're not special. All these things are demanding. So what? If you can't stand the heat, get out of the kitchen.
>
> Question: A lot of people are getting out, aren't they?
>
> Answer: Yes, and I'm not sorry that they're leaving. I think they should get out. If you don't like teaching, then get out of it. Even if you're good at it, that doesn't mean that you necessarily should be doing it.

Another teacher commented on the problem of time and the impossibility of change.

Question:	Would it help to get teachers together to share ideas?
Answer:	That would be nice, but it's absolutely impossible. It will never happen. We don't have the time. I wonder whether it would do any good anyway. I'm not arguing that we shouldn't coordinate our programs, but that's an ideal, and I don't think it will happen.

A third teacher argued that teachers should be realistic and accept the status quo.

> I think if a teacher gets to the point (where he) gets tired and loses enthusiasm that he should make a decision to get out of teaching. He should get out of teaching because teaching is not going to change. Teachers need to be more realistic. I think I'm realistic.

Section VIII

Teaching Poverty Students

Introduction

This chapter has emphasized that teaching is a vulnerable profession and beset with uncertainties. These uncertainties are assuaged somewhat when at least moderately competent teachers are assigned to classes with average or above average students. Most teachers are able to conduct such classes in ways consistent with the role expectation checklist; thus, their classroom performance does not threaten their professional reputation or damage their personal self-esteem. The uncertainties increase dramatically, however, when a teacher (any teacher) is assigned classes that include low-achieving, low SES students. Managing the classroom often becomes difficult, confrontations with students increase, hostilities flare, pupil-teacher relationships become less stable, student interest and achievement diminish, and teaching becomes generally an arduous affair. Each of the nine criteria of teacher competence is more difficult to achieve in typical low performance, low SES classrooms. From the point of view of the teacher, the work is harder, proof of professional competence is more difficult to come by, and, if that weren't enough, the teacher's professional reputation is put in jeopardy. Teachers have much to lose and little to gain in classes dominated by low-achieving students.[11] Teaching such students is threatening to teachers' professional self-esteem and reputation of competence. Every teacher must find a way to alleviate this threat. Preliminary analysis of interview data suggested that high efficacy teachers dealt with competence threats differently than did low efficacy teachers. It was therefore decided to analyze interview data more closely.

An efficacy questionnaire was administered to all teachers taking part in this study. The questionnaire used for middle and junior high school teachers differed somewhat from that used at the high school level (see Appendices B and I). Both questionnaires included the efficacy items described at the beginning of this chapter (see page 145 of this report). Responses to the efficacy questions were tallied, and an efficacy score assigned to each teacher. High efficacy scores, it will be remembered, reflect a teacher's belief that students from poor home environments can learn and that the teacher has the skill to get through to even the most difficult or unmotivated youngsters. Efficacy scores ranged from a low of 3 to a high of 10 (see Table 47).

Teachers receiving an efficacy score of 8 or above were deemed to be high efficacy teachers. Those receiving a score of 4 or below were deemed to be low efficacy teachers. Twelve high school, basic skills teachers and four middle and junior high school teachers had high efficacy scores, while six high school basic skills teachers and five middle and junior high school teachers had low efficacy scores (see Table 48).

Two teachers, one for the high school level and another from the junior high level, received high efficacy scores but displayed low efficacy attitudes and/or behaviors in the classroom and expressed low efficacy attitudes during interviews and informal discussions. Both teachers were eliminated from the high efficacy group and data from their interviews are not included in the qualitative analysis which follows in this chapter. A review of pertinent interview data and a complete explanation for their elimination from the high efficacy group is presented in Appendix S.

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[11] In fact, there is some stigma attached to teaching "more than one's share" of basic skills classes. Teachers with the strongest reputation for competence in our studies were generally assigned honors, gifted, or college prep classes, while many of those with lesser reputations were assigned basic skills classes for three or more periods a day. It must be noted that not all teachers who taught basic skills classes were thought of as "less competent" by their colleagues. We are reporting a trend and not an iron law within the social systems of the schools we studied.

Table 47

Distribution of Responses by School
on Two-Item Rand Efficacy Scale

	Middle School			Junior High			High School		
X Score	f(X) Frequency	P(X) Percent	CP(X) Cumulative Percent	f(X) Frequency	P(X) Percent	CP(X) Cumulative Percent	f(X) Frequency	P(X) Percent	CP(X) Cumulative Percent
3	0	0	0	1	5	5	3	8	8
4	2	7	7	1	5	10	3	8	16
5	0	0	7	3	15	25	3	8	24
6	7	25	32	6	30	55	8	21	45
7	5	18	50	3	15	70	8	21	66
8	11	39	89	4	20	90	11	28	94
9	2	7	96	2	10	100	1	3	97
10	1	4	100	0	0	100	1	3	100

Table 48

Number of High and Low Efficacy Teachers Interviewed by Grade Level

	Number of High Efficacy Teachers	Number of Low Efficacy Teachers
High School, Basic Skills Teachers	12	6
Middle and Junior High School Teachers	4	5

Interviews with high and low efficacy teachers were analyzed separately to see if the two groups define their work with low-achieving, low SES students in a different manner. Examples of interviews with high and low efficacy teachers are included in Appendix T.

Competency Threats and Low Efficacy Teachers

When many students in a classroom do not do their school work well or at all, when they are difficult to manage and appear uncooperative, day-to-day classroom events are often experienced by the teacher as threatening. Teachers with low efficacy scores tend to attribute these classroom problems, not to their own failures as teachers, but rather to students' 1) lack of ability, 2) poor motivation, and 3) character deficiencies and poor home lives. These three issues will be dealt with separately though they are usually intertwined in teachers' thinking.

Low efficacy teachers are more likely than their high efficacy counterparts to claim that basic skills students aren't learning because they can't learn. For example, low efficacy teachers told us:

> The . . . basic problem [with low-achieving students is that] their thinking skills are limited. Their rational, thinking, logical skills are just missing. They haven't been taught to reason. . . They've just been raised; they're not raised to think. They come to school and I can teach them to read, but I can't teach them to think rationally.
>
> I don't know if they ever will get it [basic skills] no matter how hard you work them. Partially [that's due to] immaturity and lack of motivation. I'm sure some of it has to do with their mental ability and capacity. I'm sure of that.
>
> There is only so much we teachers can do with students when they come to us in the ninth grade working at the third stanine. I guess we don't really believe that we can bring them up to the eighth stanine. That's a big problem, you've got to consider what's coming in.
>
> You can't do much with [basic skills students]. I don't know why that is, but there are things they just can't do. So you don't see much progress and you don't feel much is going on.

Of course ability is a factor in achievement, and we should not be surprised that teachers mention low ability as a deterrent to learning. But it is interesting that when low efficacy teachers discuss student ability, they do so to explain why students can't be taught rather than why such students have trouble learning. Motivation is another factor associated with student learning, and low efficacy teachers have much to say on this subject.

> I can tell them every day that they have to do well in English, but they don't seem to care. And I don't think it's me. . .You can't stand there with a cattle prod to keep them awake.
>
> I have some [students] in there who just don't care about school at all. (They are] totally turned off, they don't care. I don't think they belong in school.
>
> They're not interested in coming to school.
>
> A lot of these kids don't have the internal, academic motivation they need to. . .pursue an education for education's sake. That's not in their values.

For low efficacy teachers, lack of motivation and low mental ability explain why some students cannot be taught. Such explanations free teachers from responsibility for student learning because, by the teachers' analysis, ability and motivation are beyond a teacher's control.

Low efficacy teachers are more likely to be offended by the behavior of low-achieving students than are high efficacy teachers. Poor student behavior is seen as a cause of low academic achievement and as a reason why teachers cannot be held responsible for student failure.

> Regular students are just more vivacious and want to excel. They really want to do well. But compensatory education classes will bring you down because of discipline problems. . .If one student looks at another. . . the wrong way, they'll start arguing. They'll try to make the teacher look bad if they can. . .I don't know why, but they will. I'll admit I look forward to Wednesdays when I don't have to teach my fifth period Comp. Ed. [Compensatory Education] class.

Low efficacy teachers also attribute student failure to the home.

> It doesn't do any good to call parents of Comp. Ed. students. I've never gotten a response. . .I don't think parents care. They don't think education is important. . .They think school is just a place for kids to go. . .and to socialize.

> You know [Comp. Ed. students] don't have dinner table conversations. They don't [talk] in the evening with their families. They don't converse on an intellectual level. . .It's just chatter, and that's all it is. That's all they know is chatter.
>
> I wish somebody cared at home. I'm not saying they're not loved or cared for, but I wish somebody cared [about the kids'] education. . .
>
> You can tell whether these students come from a decent home with both parents. . . and someone in an authority position. With the decline of. . . family life you're going to run into more and more learning [disability] problems. [There's not much a teacher can do.] I mean you can work with them for a time, but whether they learn is . . .dependent on the parents' authority. . .I've seen the homes half of these students live in and [it's] no wonder they can't [learn].

To sum up, low efficacy teachers do not share responsibility for the failure of low SES, low-achieving students. Such students, these teachers insist, are not bright enough, not motivated enough, not well enough behaved, or brought up well enough to succeed at school. This "silk purse-sow's ear" argument absolves teachers from responsibility for student learning and student behavior. In effect it circumvents the checklist criteria for good teaching. Low efficacy teachers are untroubled by the failure of low-achieving students because these teachers feel that there is nothing they, or any other teacher, can do to avoid such failures. The responsibility for failure lies with genetics, the home, or the students themselves. Many low efficacy teachers are so convinced by this line of reasoning that they simply give up attempting to teach low-achieving students in their class. Note the fatalism expressed in the comments of these low efficacy teachers:

> I don't think any of us ever blame ourselves [for student failure]. I mean all of us have our doubts and we have bad days. We all feel we could put more into it, or [we feel] if we cared more we could get students motivated. . .but. . .we don't blame ourselves for the problems here.
>
> You don't want to sit down and continue to work. . . with [compensatory education students] when you know they're not going to remember it. I feel you can sit down with some of these students and go over [the material] and they'll know it and they can do it right then and there. And you get up and leave and come back five minutes later and they've forgotton how to do it completely.

> I didn't reach Edward. . .And I accept the fact that I'm not going to move Jim along. It took me a couple of years to say that [about students]. But I'm not going to move them all. I think an awful lot of teacher energy is wasted with those [students] who don't do anything. . .There's the question, is it worth it, spending hours and hours for just 12 compensatory education students. It takes a lot of time, a lot of time for very few kids.
>
> If I gave them [a book] to take home, that was [a big] mistake, because it would frequently never make it back to the room. I learned that most students did not enjoy reading at all. They liked to sit in a classroom situation and read a play with each student taking a part, but that takes a long time. And they would get frustrated and they would lose interest or miss the whole point of the thing. I found that to be a problem.
>
> We finally read a novel at the end of the year that my intern found. It took [the class] eight weeks to get through it. They hated it. . .As a matter of fact, I guess only about four out of the class finished it.
>
> I don't want to teach grammar, and I told the principal that. In fact, I told him not to assign me to a language arts class again. We argued about it. I said I'm not interested in teaching grammar to illiterates. He said that was because I don't like teaching grammar. But I said, "Wrong, I love grammar. I'm a whiz at grammar. It's the easiest thing in the world to teach. But these students can't get it, and I don't agree with teaching it to them. . ."

High-efficacy Teachers

High efficacy teachers are more likely than their low efficacy counterparts to define low-achieving students as reachable, teachable, and worthy of teacher attention and effort. While low efficacy teachers appear threatened by the lack of discipline, motivation, and achievement they see in poverty students, high efficacy teachers are able to rise above such threats. In fact, many high efficacy teachers seem to take pride in their ability to teach students their colleagues define as unteachable. High efficacy teachers do not ignore the problems poverty students bring with them to the classroom. They accept such problems as real, but, to some degree, surmountable. In contrast to their low efficacy colleagues, however, they define their role as helping low SES students overcome the handicaps that poverty has inflicted upon them. These quotes are typical of the hopeful determination we found in most of our interviews with high efficacy teachers.

> You see, [low achieving] kids need teachers. They probably need them more than any other students. They need a teacher who will work with them and who will care. I don't mean to be derogatory, but they don't need a first-year teacher who doesn't know what she's doing. They need someone who knows what's going on The kids with the most problems need the best teachers. We have to be tough on kids all the way around. I have grandiose plans. Half the time they don't work out. We start a new unit and I think it's going to be terrific and it falls on its face. But I say, "Well,. . . that's tough. I'll try again."
>
> I don't believe it's right to give up on anybody. I guess that's why I keep trying. A student can fail every day in the week [but] I'm not going to accept it. . .Most students start doing some [work] and they . . .see the results. They're not going to be math wizards but they're going to be able to do something.
>
> I think I'm lacking a bit in my basic skills classes because this is my first year of teaching. After a while I think I can start getting those [test] scores up. I think the longer FBS classes are around, the more successful we'll be. So, I think eventually the [test scores] will get better. With a bit more work, we can have better results.
>
> I enjoy basic skills [classes]. The students definitely need the assistance. They need my help. Most really want to master these skills. I think most of them work fairly well. I think I can tell fairly well whether a student is putting sufficient effort [into his work]. I may give students an F [when I think] their progress is too slow. Last [marking period] I gave several students F's. . .and I saw a very great increase in their progress during the last nine weeks.

An Academic Focus

Many high efficacy teachers worry that the school system ignores the needs of low-achieving students. For example, one high efficacy teacher discussed an 11th grade boy who had slipped through school without mastering even rudimentary academic skills. Teachers didn't recognize the young man's problem because "he's fairly quiet, undemanding [and] doesn't disturb anybody. Nobody particularly notices what the heck is going on." Teachers with a high sense of efficacy are troubled by the school system's failures and take it upon themselves to do something to help students who fall through the institution's cracks:

> I said, "You're not going to slip by me. I don't care whether you're quiet or not. I want you to

> start learning this stuff." I meant it. I called his mother and told her the same thing.

A major complaint of high efficacy teachers is that academic achievement is no longer at the center of school life:

> The school's priorities seem to be mixed up because academic [work] is not stressed enough. The stress seems to be on band, athletics, home economics, art; all things that are important, but I think academics are more important. These activities borrow from academic time.
>
> Take for example the young man that just left the room. He was failing my course because he missed so many classes this year. But he still was excused to go to band and chorus practice. There was nothing I could do [about it]. I. . .sent a note [to the chorus director] saying I would not excuse him because. . .he was failing. But he was still allowed to go.
>
> [We] are required to teach not just academic things, [but to] make sure that their hearing is checked, their eyes checked, sex education is taught, morals are taught, which is all fine. But the school [is being] loaded with more and more and more; drug education, environmental education [and so on]. When you start teaching more and more subjects, you're going to lose time. You're going to end up giving less time to each subject.
>
> We have to be tougher on kids all the way around. I don't know how we're going to do it. . .but we need to start with things like, "You're going to come to school. (The teacher pounds the desk for emphasis) You will have a pencil. You will have paper." It bothers me that we don't have these policies.

All high efficacy teachers approved of the state's testing program because, they said, the test focused attention on the academic deficiencies of many students. They approved of the county's policy of offering remedial classes in communications and math for students who had failed the state assessment test or whose achievement test scores indicated that they would probably fail when they took the assessment test in the 10th grade. However, many high efficacy teachers were disturbed that these classes were too narrowly focused on the basic skills which appear on the assessment test. In many cases students only studied a skill until they could demonstrate a modest level of competence on a teacher-made and teacher-administrated follow up test. According to some teachers, the state-mandated minimum competency requirements served not as an achievement floor below which no student would be allowed to fall, but rather as an achievement ceiling beyond which many academically troubled students would not be encouraged to ascend:

> I think we should teach [basic skills] classes like remedial English classes. I hate to see [students] just work on skills and check them off as they go through them. They should have reading and writing and even some grammar. But we focus on [a few narrow] skills and I think the kids miss out on a lot because of that. They would benefit more from reading classes. That, after all, is their problem. They don't read well. We should read whole stories together and not just focus on little paragraphs on ditto sheets. When we focus on skills, the kids miss out on so much. They don't get any literature.
>
> FBS [Florida Basic Skills] students in the 9th grade don't get 9th grade English. And FBS 10th grade students don't get 10th grade English, and if they take FBS in the 11th grade, they will have met their full English requirements for graduation [without ever being in a full fledged English class].

High efficacy teachers find that some students are unmotivated, undisciplined and do not appear to want what schools have to offer. But these teachers are unwilling to categorize all low-achieving students in such negative terms. On the contrary, they generally find their Compensatory Education students to be highly motivated and willing to work:

> Most of them work pretty hard and it wasn't a case of their not wanting to do well. Now, you've got a few goof offs, always, but most of them worked and wanted to do well.

A Focus on Friendship

Not only do high efficacy teachers find basic skills students motivated and willing to work, they find them likeable and generally well behaved:

> I think the personalities of FBS students are easier to get along with. They're nicer. Maybe it's because it's a small class and they're afraid to say much, but they all seem to be quiet. They don't have discipline problems. I just think they're nice kids. I really do.
>
> They're pretty good. They really are. . .They get a feeling of rapport. . .with the teacher. They understand how far they can go is pretty much dependent on themselves. They can ask questions,they can work as hard as they want to, do as much work as they want to or as little. I guess the class feels close together because it's small. The students know each other. There is more time for individual students to help each other.

When Basic Skills students misbehave, high efficacy teachers attempt to meet the challenge with a "firm, yet fair" response:

> There has to be consistency when students misbehave. They have to know that when they do such and such, this will happen to them.

A second theme which ran through our interviews with high efficacy teachers was their desire to form primary relationships with students. Some teachers told us that one of their major objectives each year was to

> Get to know [their] students.
>
> Be a friend to students and to be someone who understands them.

High efficacy teachers did not express the desire to form intimate, family-style relationships with pupils, but they did appear to be most comfortable when the formality of the typical teacher-student interaction was relaxed somewhat. They recognized the need for authority in the classroom but wanted to build their authority through mutual understanding and appreciation rather than to base their authority on the institutionalized power of the teacher role.[12]

High efficacy teachers are able to build rather warm relationships with their low-achieving students because they genuinely like these youngsters and do not find them morally repugnant. Teachers did discuss the negative home environment of some of their poorer students and the bad habits some students brought with them to the classroom. But seldom did a high efficacy teacher suggest that bad habits or a poor home life made a student unlikeable and/or unteachable. On the contrary, the teachers we interviewed suggested that getting to know students and liking them facilitated teaching and learning. One teacher explained that after a primary relationship is established a teacher can correct the student's behavior or give a special assignment without the student feeling that he or she is being picked on or singled out. Establishing personal relationships in the classroom bleeds some of the potential hostility out of the teacher-student relationship.[14]

> I can say to a student, "I want you to improve this or that today." And they can come and tell [me] their problems or just say, "You look nice today" or "I'm glad you're here."

High efficacy teachers point out that getting to know their students enables them to "anticipate what a student might do in [any given] situation," and thus be prepared to encourage learning and discourage disruptions. If students value their teacher, the teacher will be more able to influence pupil behavior and bolster student self-esteem. Some high efficacy teachers insist that a positive self-concept is essential to learning. "If you don't feel good about yourself," one teacher told us, "you're not going to work hard and you're not going to put time into [your studies]."

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[12] The distinction between personal authority and institutional or positional authority is borrowed from Max Weber. It was first applied to education by Waller (1932) in his now classic study, The Sociology of Teaching. It has since been elaborated by Schmuck and Schmuck (1971).

[13] For a discussion of frictions in the student-teacher relationship, see Waller (1932).

The teachers we have been discussing display a willingness to get to know their low-achieving students and the determination to teach them. At the same time they are sadly mindful that the odds are stacked against many of their poorest pupils. "I wish I could say that schools could take anybody and turn him or her into an Alfred Einstein," lamented one teacher, "but I don't think it's possible." However, the teacher went on to say that the school should not focus on the negative aspects of a child's life:

> When you get right down to it, you're going to have to work with the child anyway. It doesn't matter if he can only show a gain of two months at the end of the year, you have to work with him the whole year. And maybe they'll surprise you. It's important to take them where they are,. . .make them feel secure, let them know you are behind them and. . .you want them to do the best they can possibly do. You're not expecting [any more than that], but you don't expect them to be lazy and just slide by."

Section IX

Summary

This chapter began with the contention that the study of efficacy demands a social psychological investigation of how teachers define their work, the forces that impinge on those definitions and the meaning structures that undergird and legitimate their professional lives. Ethnographic interviewing is well suited for an investigation of how teachers define and experience their work in the schools.

An analysis of interview data suggested that teaching is an uncertain and isolated profession that offers educators few assurances that they are making a significant or lasting difference in the knowledge, skills, or lives of their pupils. This uncertainty threatens the ties of meaning and commitment that connect teachers to the roles they play. Uncertainty puts the professional self-esteem of educators in continual jeopardy. This threat is assuaged in varying degrees by a socialization process that encourages teachers to conform to a set of role expectations in the domains of classroom management, instruction, and student-teacher relations. The role expectations checklist described in this chapter provides a set of competency criteria against which teachers can gauge their degree of conformity to the teaching role. The urge to conform to these criteria grows from the teacher's inner competency doubts and from the certain knowledge that a teacher's performance in the school is being continually judged by fellow teachers. The worry that one's deep-seated suspicions of personal incompetence will be confirmed by the negative evaluations of one's peers leads many teachers to "keep up appearances" and to present an occupational self-image that is consistent with the demands of the work situation. An idealized impression is presented to peers which accents certain facts and accomplishments and conceals minor failings, flaws, or acts of deviance.

It is significant, however, that conformity to the teacher's role does not bind educators into a professional unit organized around similar values and a common body of knowledge. The checklist behavior teachers are encouraged to accept does not promote an explicit world view or a set of shared educational aims. Checklist conformity assures teachers only that they are doing what is expected of them but it provides no assurance that "expected behavior" is worth doing or contributes significantly to the education and well being of students. Teacher conformity is self-protective but not necessarily self-assuring. It provides teachers with a loosely coupled set of instructions which guides their behavior and protects them against negative peer evaluations, but it fails to provide protection against the vicissitudes of self doubt.

The social-psychological milieu of the school fosters self-doubt, conformity and impression management. Efficacy attitudes must be analyzed within the context of these quotidian realities of school life. Low-achieving students make teacher conformity to the role expectations checklist decidedly more difficult. The uncertainties that already exist within the social-psychological milieu of the school are thus heightened considerably when a teacher, any teacher, is assigned to classes where low-achieving, low socio-economic status children predominate. High-efficacy teachers deal with this heightened threat quite differently than do their low-efficacy counterparts.

The attitudes and behaviors of high and low-efficacy teachers contrast sharply. These two groups of teachers work in the same schools and teach the same students but they experience their Compensatory Education classes in decidedly different ways. High-efficacy teachers uphold relatively high academic standards for their low-achieving students and worry that such students are getting lost in the bureaucratic shuffle of the school. They respond to such problems by concentrating on academics in their classes and by insisting that students do the same. They find their basic skills students sadly deficient academically but anxious to improve, willing to work, and generally well behaved. They enjoy such students and work to build friendly, non-threatening relationships with them.

Low-efficacy teachers, on the other hand, experience frustration and sometimes anger over the attitudes and behaviors they think characterize most low-achieving, low SES pupils. Such youngsters offend the moral sensibilities of low-efficacy teachers and violate their image of what students should think, be, and do. One math teacher with an efficacy score of 6 told us that she was shocked by her first Basic Skills class:

> I thought Compensatory Education students would be willing to work because they needed help. But I had a number of very, very extreme behavior problems in the class. I had some students. . .who really plugged at it, but [I had] some do-nothings and forget-abouts who would only talk about food, or boys, or what to wear. Some kids were. . .out of it, what could I do? They were constantly being suspended, or if they weren't suspended, they were truant, or in fights, or in the courts. I don't think teachers are prepared to deal with students like this. That's what made teaching these classes unpleasant for me. I was robbed by some students in the class.
>
> I don't think a lot of the Basic Skills kids are motivated. So I think it's too much to ask of a teacher that students pass [the state assessment] test. I think a teacher could nearly kill herself trying to motivate some students. [We should] motivate but we shouldn't have to push and push and push. Outside factors are telling kids, "Why bother?" [They know that] so and so can get a job without a high school education, so and so can rip people off, he can burglarize people. . .and make a fortune. So teachers are dealing with so many externals that it makes teaching too hard.

> I cannot get kids to come in and make up skills they've missed. They have no excuse but I can't force them. People need to look at the kinds of students who are actually going into Basic Skills classes. They are putting kids with low scores on the Metropolitan Achievement test in these classes. Kids who've gotten zero,and no one is asking why their test scores were low. I think the test scores were low because the kids were away from school a great deal,. . .were in trouble constantly, or creating problems in the classroom.

Many of the students this teacher faced in her Basic Skills classes she thought were too psychologically troubled to be helped by teachers. "I think that kids surely need help. They deserve some type of help. But I think the kind of help they need is far more than what a regular teacher can give in a classroom. They need psychological help and they need disciplinary action. I really don't feel comfortable teaching them." The teacher's discomfort arose from the fact that she did not find her Basic Skills students to be morally acceptable:

> I have a value conflict with the students. I don't believe there are degrees of cheating. I don't believe that it's right to take something, just because somebody else has it and you don't. I'm constantly faced with that in my Basic Skills classes. "I haven't got it,and I want it, so and so has it, so I'm going to take it." And they think that's all right. It's an issue of the haves and have nots.
>
> I don't like them to say hurtful things to students or to say hurtful things about someone's mother. I abstain from that kind of thing in my classroom. But many times I get to the point where I think of [hurtful] things to say to students, and at times I have [said them]. But I do that in order to protect another student. I have had to put down students because they were giving that kind of treatment to someone else. I find that sometimes that's the only way you can handle it.

"Motivated. . .and better than average students" interest this teacher. She finds them "self confident and kind. They don't need to lash out at me. A lot of them feel better about school and have school spirit. And they pull together on some things." But below average students are so difficult to work with, so unmotivated, so hurtful, and so uneducable that they don't deserve her time:

> In some instances I'm not sure that I care. Sometimes I feel, "What's the use?" Teaching can be very frustrating, a very frustrating experience. I'm not going to mince words about it, that's the way I feel. I feel threatened, too. I can see where a lot of these classes could be very threatening.

The teacher describes herself as burned out and feels the need to change her goals. "I really feel that I'd like to get out of the classroom and into administration." She said she was tired of "walking into the same classrooms, facing the same kinds of students, and getting the same kinds of results."

Where high-efficacy teachers found Basic Skills students motivated, low-efficacy teachers found them disinterested. Where high-efficacy teachers found Basic Skills students interesting and likeable, low-efficacy teachers found them morally repugnant. High-efficacy teachers found Basic Skills students to be challenging, but low-efficacy teachers found them unworthy of the teacher's effort. High-efficacy teachers ran orderly, academically-oriented classrooms that were free of negative affect, but many low-efficacy teachers had difficulty controlling their classrooms and sometimes reverted to sarcasm as a discipline method or means of getting even.

It is not clear from this chapter's ethnographic analysis if efficacy attitudes cause teachers and students to behave in certain ways or if classroom behavior influences efficacy attitudes. It seems reasonable to suggest that teachers who believe they can get through to low-achieving students are likely to try, and those who believe they cannot reach such students are not likely to exert much effort in that direction. But efficacy is probably not a simple first cause in a linear chain of events. The belief-behavior connection is probably interactive. A teacher who tries diligently but unsuccessfully to teach low-achieving students may become disillusioned in the process. As a result his or her sense of efficacy may decline. Another teacher, achieving more positive results, may alter his or her efficacy attitudes accordingly. In any event, it is important to note that efficacy attitudes, whether positive or negative, reflect the actual classroom experiences of the teachers who hold them. Analysis of student achievement data suggests that Basic Skills students really do not learn as much in the classrooms of low-efficacy teachers (see pages 106-138 of this report). Student behavior in low-efficacy classrooms generally reflects less involvement in learning and less interest in or respect for the teacher. Students in classrooms of high-efficacy teachers, on the other hand, make more academic progress, display greater interest in classroom activities and show less hostility toward their teacher.

CHAPTER 8

Efficacy, Uncertainty, and Status Panic

Introduction

Teaching is a white-collar occupation, and virtually all teachers view themselves as belonging to the middle class. For many, teaching served as a social elevator that lifted them from the blue-collar, working-class world of their parents. For some middle-class women, teaching provided a means of financing a husband's ascent into the upper middle-class world of business or the professions. For some other women, teaching provided the supplemental income necessary to fight inflation and shore up a family's flagging middle-class status. Many teachers of both sexes view classroom instruction as a mere stepping stone to administration or as a temporary occupation that will finance more lucrative career goals that await them in the future.

The oft-stated accusation that teachers are biased in favor of middle-class values is undoubtedly true. The life experiences of most teachers demonstrate their allegiance to the ethic of vertical mobility, self-improvement, hard work, deferred gratification, self-discipline, and personal achievement. These individualistic values are based upon the conviction that the social system (both the social-economic system and its component, institutional systems) works well, that it is essentially fair and that it moves the culture slowly but inevitably toward progress.

The middle-class system of values puts the individual at its center. If individuals develop their talents, work hard, persevere in the face of adversity, it is assumed that they will eventually succeed in life. Conversely, those who lack talent and/or ambition will eventually fail. Winners in the American competition will be able to display their success through the consumption of goods, the utilization of leisure time, and the exhibition of power and status. It is further assumed that those who fail merely suffer the just desserts of their own indolence.

There is a rich literature that details how middle-class teachers favor students who display an allegiance to middle-class values and disfavor those pupils whose behavior contradicts that value system. However, little attention has been given to how that same value system affects the teachers themselves. By better understanding the white-collar world of the school teacher we can also understand the hopes and complex anxieties that grip individuals in the teaching profession. We can further understand the connection which exists between efficacy attitudes and the social realities of the teacher's professional existence.

This chapter will utilize data from ethnographic interviews, especially as teacher comments relate to the issues of status, pay, on-the-job recognition, and job satisfaction. Portions of the chapter will draw on theoretical literature in the area of white-collar work and alienation. The objective of this chapter is to supplement and enrich the analysis of the preceding chapter and to set the stage for the grounded theory presented in the next chapter.

Status Awareness

Max Lerner has described white-collar workers as forming:

> A loose collection of occupational strata, probably more anxiety-ridden than the rest of the culture, dominated by the drive to distinguish themselves from the working class, uncohesive, held together by no common bond except the fact that they are caught in a kind of purgatory between the hell of the poor and the weak and the heaven of the rich and the powerful. (p. 188)

White-collar workers are usually achievement-oriented. Many take pride in the fact that they (and/or their parents) have moved up the status ladder and see the possibility for future status achievement for themselves and their children. They are made anxious, however, when: 1. the community does not award them the prestige they feel their position deserves; 2. when they discover that their present occupation does not present future opportunities for advancement; 3. when shifts in the economy make the economic future precarious, or 4. when the salary advances of blue-collar workers appear to threaten their position of relative advantage. Any one of these four circumstances can throw a middle-class white-collar worker into what C. Wright Mills called "status panic." (p. 239)

White-collar workers are aware of their position in the status hierarchy but are often insecure. They are threatened from below by the skilled and semi-skilled, blue-collar workers who, despite limited education, enjoy incomes that rival or exceed their own. They are threatened from above by the superior status achievements of highly paid managers, administrators, and professionals. Many people pursue an education and enter the white-collar work force under the assumption that their efforts will earn them status, job satisfaction, and greater control over the events that affect their lives. These hopes are not always realized. They soon learn, as Lerner has pointed out, that they have nothing to sell their employers,

> except their skills, their personality, their eagerness to be secure, their subservience and silence. Since they must act as the personal eyes, ears, hands, and brains of impersonal corporations, they are no longer the "masterless" men of an earlier America: they must always wear the public mask of their occupations; to be marketable they must shape themselves to a personality pattern of efficiency, smoothness, sales vigor or charm or deference--which is what is expected and what will be paid for. (pp. 490-491)

We turn now to the question of whether teachers are subject to the anxieties and estrangement that Lerner, Mills, and other social scientists think are typical of middle-class, white-collar workers.

The Status Awareness of Teachers

To our knowledge no studies exist which explore the status insecurity of teachers. However, there is reason to hypothesize that many teachers suffer the same status worries and work-place alienation that afflict so many other white-collar workers. We will discuss the reasons for this hypothesis below.

Dan Lortie has pointed out that "teaching is clearly white-collar, middle-class work, and as such offers upward mobility for people who grew up in blue-collar or lower-class families." He goes on to say that "teaching appears to be one of the more important routes into the middle class " (p. 35). According to national education data, 50 percent of male teachers and 33 percent of female teachers had fathers who were employed as unskilleded, semi-skilled, or skilled laborers. (NEA 1976, p. 127) From the vantage point of a child from a blue-collar family, the status of a classroom teacher may appear impressive and prestigious. Such a child may discover that teaching offers relatively easy access into the middle-class. Teachers' colleges are relatively inexpensive, numerous, and generally do not have rigorous standards of admission or rigorous requirements for graduation. However, the cost of education and course requirements are usually difficult enough to convince blue-collar teacher candidates that they have made significant sacrifices in order to achieve white-collar status. In short, they are proud of their job, however, such teachers may become aware that they are relatively disadvantaged when they compare their starting salaries with those of other occupations. (See Table 49)

After some time in the profession, teachers may realize that their career pay is scheduled and front loaded; that is, to say, teacher pay is determined by district pay scales and the amount earned by a teacher with 30 years experience is roughly 2 to 2-1/2 times that earned by a beginning teacher. The vertical mobility aspirations that brought blue-collar individuals into the teaching profession are thwarted by a system that offers few status advancement opportunities for classroom teachers and little economic reward for years of service.

Upon realizing the limited possibilities for future upward mobility, many teachers decide to leave the profession for more lucrative, status-awarding pursuits. Others may channel their interests into administration. Still others may attempt to upgrade their income and validate their status claims by furthering their education and earning advanced professional degrees. All of these activities indicate a commitment to the ethic of continual advancement and the dissatisfaction with the status accorded the teaching profession.

The ethic of advancement is further frustrated when teachers realize that their scheduled salary increases barely keep up with inflation.

TABLE 49: Average Starting Salaries of Public School Teachers Compared with Salaries in Private Industry, 1978-1979*

Position or Subject Field	1977-1978
Beginning teachers with bachelor's degree	$ 9,656
College graduate with bachelor's degree*	
Engineering	15,606
Accounting	13,056
Sales-Marketing	12,084
Business Administration	11,556
Liberal Arts	11,004
Chemistry	14,088
Mathematics-Statistics	12,756
Economics-Finance	11,424
Computer Sciences	13,188
Other Fields	13,476
Index Relationship to Starting Salaries for Teachers†	
Beginning teachers with bachelor's degree	100.0
College graduates with bachelor's degree*	
Engineering	169.6
Accounting	141.9
Sales-Marketing	131.3
Business Administration	125.6
Liberal Arts	119.6
Chemistry	153.1
Mathematics-Statistics	138.7
Economics-Finance	124.2
Computer Sciences	143.3
Other Fields	146.5

Source: National Education Association. Reprinted by permission of National Education Association.

* From annual reports of Frank S. Endicott, Director of Placement Emeritus, Northwestern University. Salaries are based on offers made to graduates by approximately 200 companies located throughout the United States. Salaries are based on offers made in November to students who will graduate in June.

† Computed by NEA Research from data presented in the Endicott reports

Between 1967 and 1978, according to one report, the average gross income for teachers rose only 5.9 percent when corrected for inflation. Other public employees fared no better,but many strongly unionized blue-collar workers did very well indeed. The average gross income of steel workers over the same period advanced 34.9 percent, that of coal miners 31.1 percent, truck drivers 32.9 percent, and plumbers 10.5 percent. (See Table 50.)

According to more recent data collected by the National Center for Educational Statistics, the buying power of teachers' salaries declined by nearly 15 percent during the 1970's. (See Table 51.)

We assume that teachers with high mobility aspirations would be frustrated by their lack of economic advancement and by the comparative gains of blue-collar workers. Teachers who pride themselves on their middle-class status must feel threatened when the income of many blue-collar workers exceeds their own. If, as many sociologists contend, relative deprivation is a fundamental cause of status panic and social discontent, then teachers have reason to be troubled. As Paul Blumberg (1980) has pointed out:

> Today the middle-class struggle to maintain, what have been for them appropriate income differentials, is collapsing. Such salaried employees must inevitably develop a feeling that their income is no longer commensurate with their social worth and that people who are socially inferior to themselves are being allowed to pull outrageously ahead. When rank-- or imagined rank--no longer gets its due, social order is in danger.
>
> In a society where money is the measure of social worth, what happens when clerical workers and retail sales people discover that factory workers are suddenly earning not merely slightly more, but 2-2.5 times more than they; when school teachers and librarians are being left behind in the factory dust; when unionized blue-collar workers are quickly closing in even on college professors who have invested up to ten years in graduate school. . .to prepare for a career? (p. 83)

There is, of course, no single answer to Blumberg's questions, but we can be sure that teachers are aware and concerned about their financial situation. We can be sure as well that teachers see a connection between their income and social status. We asked one teacher, for example, if he would choose teaching again if he had it to do over. He acknowledged that teaching had been important to him. However, he quickly added:

> But when I think about the way that society recognizes teachers, and the value of teaching, and the way they

TABLE 50: Trends in Earnings, Selected Occupations, 1967-1978

Occupation *(SIC code[a] where appropriate)*	*Average Gross Annual Income* *1967*	*1978*	*% Change After Inflation*
Consumer price index	100	195.4	
Steelworker (331)	$ 7,426	$19,573	+34.9%
Coal miner (11,12)	7,738	19,822	+31.1
Automobile worker (3711)	7,613	18,658	+25.4
Truck driver (421,423)	6,843	16,432	+22.9
Food-store worker (54)	4,638	10,899	+20.3
Registered nurse (industrial)	6,188	13,416[b]	+19.5
Laundry worker (721)	3,598	7,800	+10.9
Plumber	11,149	22,360[b]	+10.5
Restaurant worker (58)	3,120	6,677	+ 9.5
Federal civil servant, GS-16 (nonpolitical manager)	20,982	44,756	+ 9.2
Accountant, level V (top)	12,795	27,301	+ 9.2
Personnel director, level V (top)	19,186	40,835	+ 8.9
Messenger (urban)	3,666	7,202[b]	+ 8.2
Electrical/electronics worker (36)	5,762	12,126	+ 7.7
Textile worker (22)	4,285	8,923	+ 6.6
Rubber (tire) worker (301)	7,862	16,266	+ 5.9
School teacher (urban)	7,464	15,450	+ 5.9
Accountant, level III (of V)	8,879	18,115	+ 4.4
Department store employee--nonsupervisory (513)	4,285	8,736	+ 4.3
Policeman (municipal)	6,482	13,190	+ 4.1
Buyer, level IV (top)	11,806	23,853	+ 3.4
Secretary (urban)	5,772	10,816[b]	+ 3.2
Federal civil servant, GS-12 (white-collar professional)	11,461	23,087	+ 3.1
Furniture (25)	4,846	9,734	+ 2.8
Chemist, level III (of VIII)	9,719	19,453	+ 2.4
Typist (urban)	3,874	7,176[b]	+ 2.1
Buyer, level II (of IV)	8,211	16,195	+ .9
Computer programmer	9,984	19,608	+ .5
Engineer, level III (of VIII)	10,330	20,194	0
Engineering technician, level III (of V)	7,235	14,062	- .5
Apparel worker (23)	4,222	8,195	- .7
Chemist, level VIII(top)	24,676	47,156	- 2.2
Engineer, level VIII(top)	22,235	42,106	- 3.1
Federal civil servant, GS-5 (clerical)	5,565	10,507	- 3.4

Table 50 continued on next page

TABLE 50 (continued) Trends in Earnings, Selected Occupations, 1967-1978

Occupation *(SIC code[a] where appropriate)*	*Average Gross Annual Income* *1967*	 *1978*	*% Change After Inflation*
Consumer price index	100	195.4	
Insurance company employee--nonsupervisory (63)	5,782	10,878	- 3.7
Shoe worker (314)	4,181	7,800	- 4.5
College professor (average all ranks)	11,114	17,601[c]	- 7.1
Bank employee--nonsupervisory (60)	4,864	8,757	- 7.9
College professor (full)	17,158	30,353	- 9.5
Librarian	7,305	11,894[b]	-10.3
Welfare recipient (per family)	1,894	3,089	-16.5

Sources: Compiled from Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Employment and Earnings, United States, 1909-78* (Washington, D. C., 1979); *Handbook of Labor Statistics, 1977,* Bulletin 1966 (Washington, D. C., 1977); *Occupational Earnings in All Metropolitan Areas, July 1977* (September 1978); *Current Wage Developments 31* (March 1979); *National Survey of Professional, Administrative, Technical, and Clerical Pay, March 1978,* Bulletin 2004 (Washington, D. C., 1978); *Time,* January 15, 1979; American Association of University Professors (AAUP), "No Progress this Year: Report on the Economic Status of the Profession," *AAUP Bulletin* (August 1977).

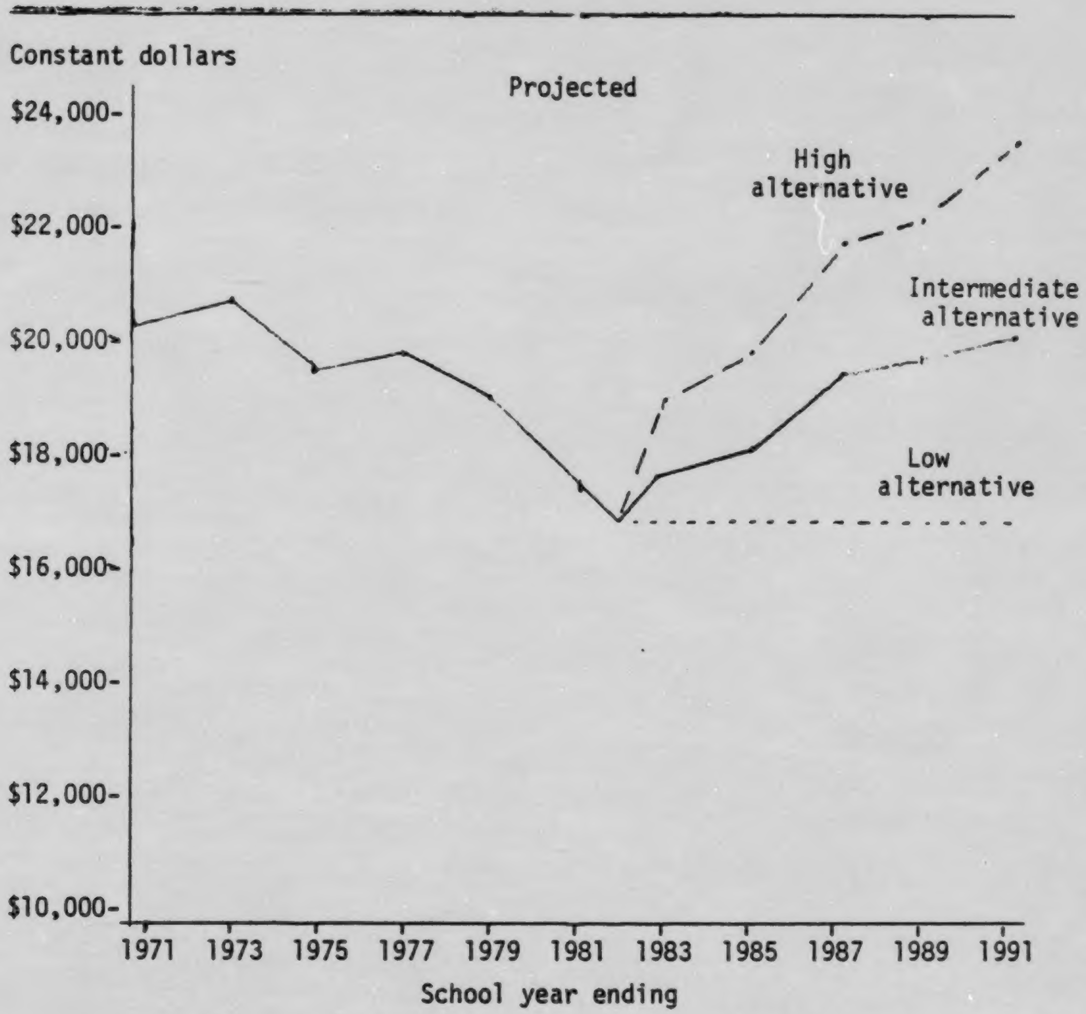
[a] SIC: Standard Industrial Classification.

[b] 1977. Income change calculated on basis of 1977 Consumer Price Index, which was 181.5.

[c] Comparison is 1967-68 academic year with 1976-77 academic year. Income change calculated on basis of 1976 Consumer Price Index, which was 170.5.

Table 51

Salaries of Classroom Teachers in Regular Public Elementary/Secondary Schools*



The buying power of teachers' salaries decreased by nearly 15 percent during the 1970's. In the next decade, teachers' salaries are expected to begin increasing as the demand for teachers grows.
*Source: Dearmin & Plisko, 1982.

> reward teachers. . .if I didn't have an outside income I would probably be very dissatisfied. Teachers are not recognized the way they should be. I feel that with my ability in mathematics I could just have easily become an engineer, any kind of scientist, a medical doctor, anything like that. I'm not sure that I'd necessarily have been happier doing that. . .But I would have had more recognition in society. I would have more financial rewards.

Another teacher gave us a similar message:

> I do get discouraged on occasion. The pay is so low. So I asked myself why am I doing this, why did I ever go into teaching. I feel embittered some of the time about the pay.

We asked the same teacher if she would encourage her older daughter to enter the teaching profession. She said she would not because of the poor pay:

> It's too bad that we pay people who work with words so poorly. There's not much reward. My daughter has a high IQ and she's good in language and English. But I'm pushing her into math and science because there are more opportunities there.

Another teacher told us:

> I'm looking more and more to getting out of teaching. It's not so much that I don't like teaching, it's because I'm not making any money. I think I do too many things too well to sit around here and make ten or twelve thousand dollars a year when I can probably go and find some kind of business to get involved in and do much better in what I'm doing. I think probably within the next three or four years I'll be out of teaching. It's the money. It's a real problem. I think we're just above the poverty level right now. We're just not doing well at all.

We asked a teacher what might be done to improve the prestige of his profession. His response is indicative of the close connection which exists between salary and status in the middle-class value system:

> I think the biggest thing they could do to increase teacher prestige would be to double the salaries. Double the salaries. People would place a higher value on what teachers do if they made more money. If you had to pick one thing that would increase the prestige of teaching it would have to be an

increase in the salaries.

Occupational status is one of the most widely studied aspects of the social stratification system in America. Most studies derive from research conducted by the National Opinion Research Center. Since that time other studies have found a "high degree of stability in occupational prestige " (Coleman and Rainwater, 1978 ; Inkeles and Rossi, 1956; Hodge, Seigel, and Rossi, 1964; Hodge, Treiman and Rossi, 1966). In most studies of occupational status, teachers rank well below other well recognized professions (physicians, pharmacists, lawyers, and so on) and in the lower third of white-collar occupations. In a ranking system that gave status scores as high as 583 and as low as 30, Coleman and Rainwater found high school teachers had a rating of 131, or just barely above, "the lowest level of managerial. . .and kindred workers." (p. 61)[1] Status-sensitive teachers are troubled by their low salary and by the relatively low level of prestige that their salary reflects.

The social standing of teachers may be further threatened by the growing public dissatisfaction with education in general and teachers in particular. Over the past eight years, for example, there has been a gradual decline in parents' confidence regarding the quality of public schooling in America. In 1974, 65 percent of parents with school-age children gave a grade of A or B to indicate what they thought was the quality of American schools. By 1981, that percentage had fallen to 36%. (Gallup, 1981; Dearman and Plisko, p. 108) The reasons for the decline in public confidence have not been studied in depth so its exact causes are not know. However, scholars, critics, and the popular press frequently cite such reasons as the prolonged national decline in achievement test scores; the steady rise in educational expenditures; the escalation of school crime; the advertised failure of great society programs designed to improve educational quality, and an increase in teacher militancy. For the first time, the 1980 Gallup Poll reported that a majority of Americans would be displeased if a child of theirs decided to become a public school teacher.

Teachers we interviewed were aware of their flagging image in the community and were disturbed that the public didn't understand the problems teachers face or appreciate what they took to be the real accomplishments of the schools. As one teacher told us:

> I don't think the average person knows what a teacher does. If I brought someone in [to my class and he] knew the content, he would still have a rough time physically and mentally doing the job. . .Teaching is a physical and mental strain. It's exhausting.

Many teachers felt that the public held unrealistic expectations:

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[1] Coleman and Rainwater included the term"professional workers" in the above quote. We have deleted that term because we could not find any "professions" in the list of occupations they studied that had scores below 130.

> Parents are demanding too much . . . the whole society is demanding too much from the classroom teacher. We're not gods. We can't take a child that doesn't have it between the ears, a child that was born with poor genes, and make [him or her] pass a literacy test. We can't do that. Let's face it, we're not paid what we deserve to be paid. We have a lot of responsibility and they're demanding too much of us. When we ask for a raise they say, "Are you kidding?" Now if we grovel for a while they may give us a raise. Another problem is the student-teacher ratio. Teachers have talked about it, it's been in the papers, and everyone knows that . . . if you want students to progress you've got to lower that ratio. You can't have 38 kids in an English class and do a great job teaching writing. You just can't do it. That's one of the reasons for teacher burn-out. We have too many students.

Teachers explained that they felt squeezed between the high expectations of the public and working conditions that made it impossible to accomplish what the public expected. Some teachers believed that the criticisms that had been directed toward the school would be better directed toward the home:

> They're demanding too much of teachers and not giving them enough. I'm not saying we don't have respect. . . I feel I'm respected in this community, but in the newspapers and all we've lost a lot of respect. They blame the teachers because students don't do well on their tests. You see we're getting the blame when a lot of the blame should be placed on the home. There needs to be a lot more demanded of the home and less demanded of the teachers. Give us less students and then see what we can do. Pay us more, pay us as professionals, and let administrators treat us as professionals and then see what we can do.

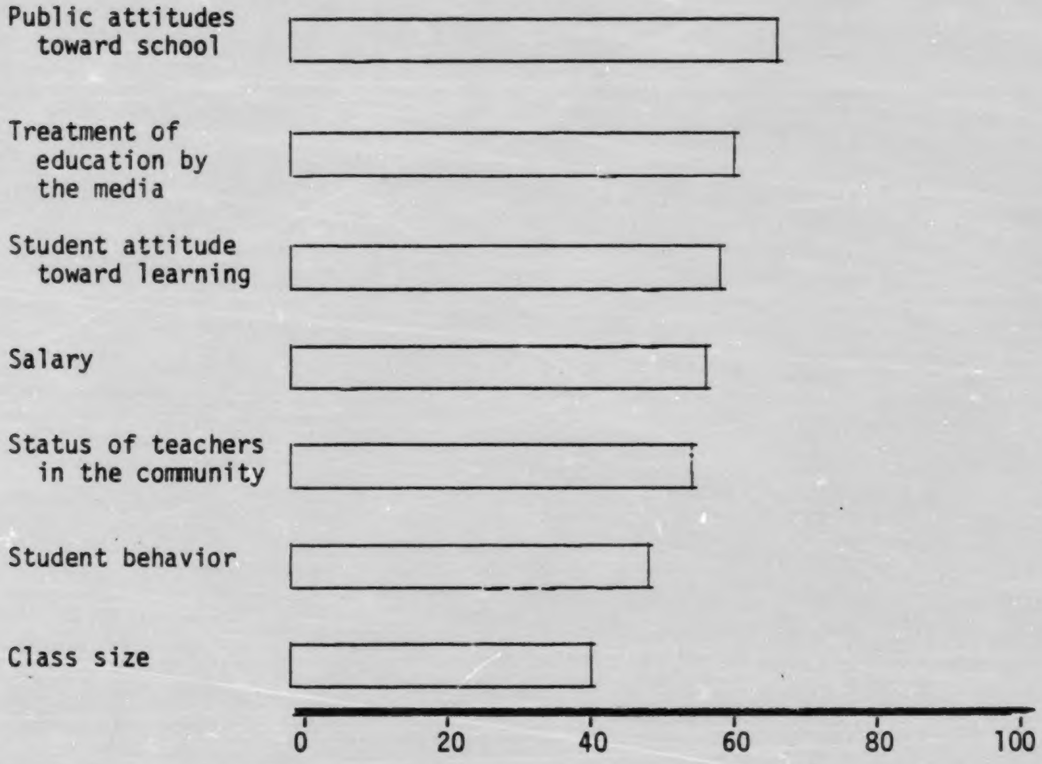
The concerns that teachers shared with us give poignant meaning to the data collected by the National Education Association in a recent national survey of teacher opinion. Teachers were asked to indicate the forces and factors that had had a negative effect on their job satisfaction. Well over 50 percent of teachers surveyed indicated that the public's attitude toward school, the treatment of education by the media, student attitudes toward learning, teacher salaries, and the status of teachers in the community had had a negative effect on their professional morale. (See Table 52.)

Teachers come to their work with aspirations for vertical mobility but find little opportunity for advancement in their chosen profession. They come with the hope that they will earn an adequate income, but they find that their salaries barely keep pace with inflation and that the pay of many blue-collar workers equals or exceeds their own. They come with the expectations that white-collar work will afford them a respectably

Table 52

Job Satisfaction: Opinions of Public School Teachers*

"Each of the following affects teacher morale. Has each had a positive or negative effect on your job satisfaction?"



Percent who responded that item had negative effect on morale

More than half of all teachers believed that salary, community and media attitudes, teachers' status and student attitudes towards learning had a negative effect on their job satisfaction. Salary had a more negative effect in the South than in other regions. In nearly every category, secondary school teachers were more likely than teachers of other levels to respond that an item had a negative effect.

*Source: Dearmin & Plisko, 1982.

high status in the community, but they find that their prestige is damaged by the decline of public confidence in education. These circumstances cause status panic in many teachers, damage their self-esteem, and diminish their commitment to education. It would appear that teachers fit Beth Vanfossen's description of white-collar workers:

> White-collar workers perform necessary work activities and are essential to the running of bureaucracies. But they lack decision-making power and work autonomy. Their jobs are relatively secure, but dead-end. Their incomes are sufficient, but minimal. They have to be gregarious and sociable to please both bosses and clients, yet they receive little recognition for their placating functions. They teach their children to get along with others and to get an education, for it is in these two ways that they themselves moved away from their blue-collar origins. Their levels of self-esteem are higher than in the blue-collar stratum, yet they are more prone to a chronic dissatisfaction with their jobs, their incomes, and life in general. They neither prosper nor perish. They truly are the epitome of the middle-class. (1979, p. 324)

The teaching profession is not providing individuals with the financial and psychological support they need to sustain them in their work. As a result, the number of people being drawn to teaching is declining,and the quality of people entering the profession is declining as well. In 1973 there were 191,172 education degrees conferred in the United States. By 1980 that number had fallen to 118,102. (See Table 53.) Between 1973 and 1981 the scholastic aptitude test scores of high school seniors who aspired to teaching fell in the verbal area from 419 to 391 and in math from 449 to 418. (See Table 54.)

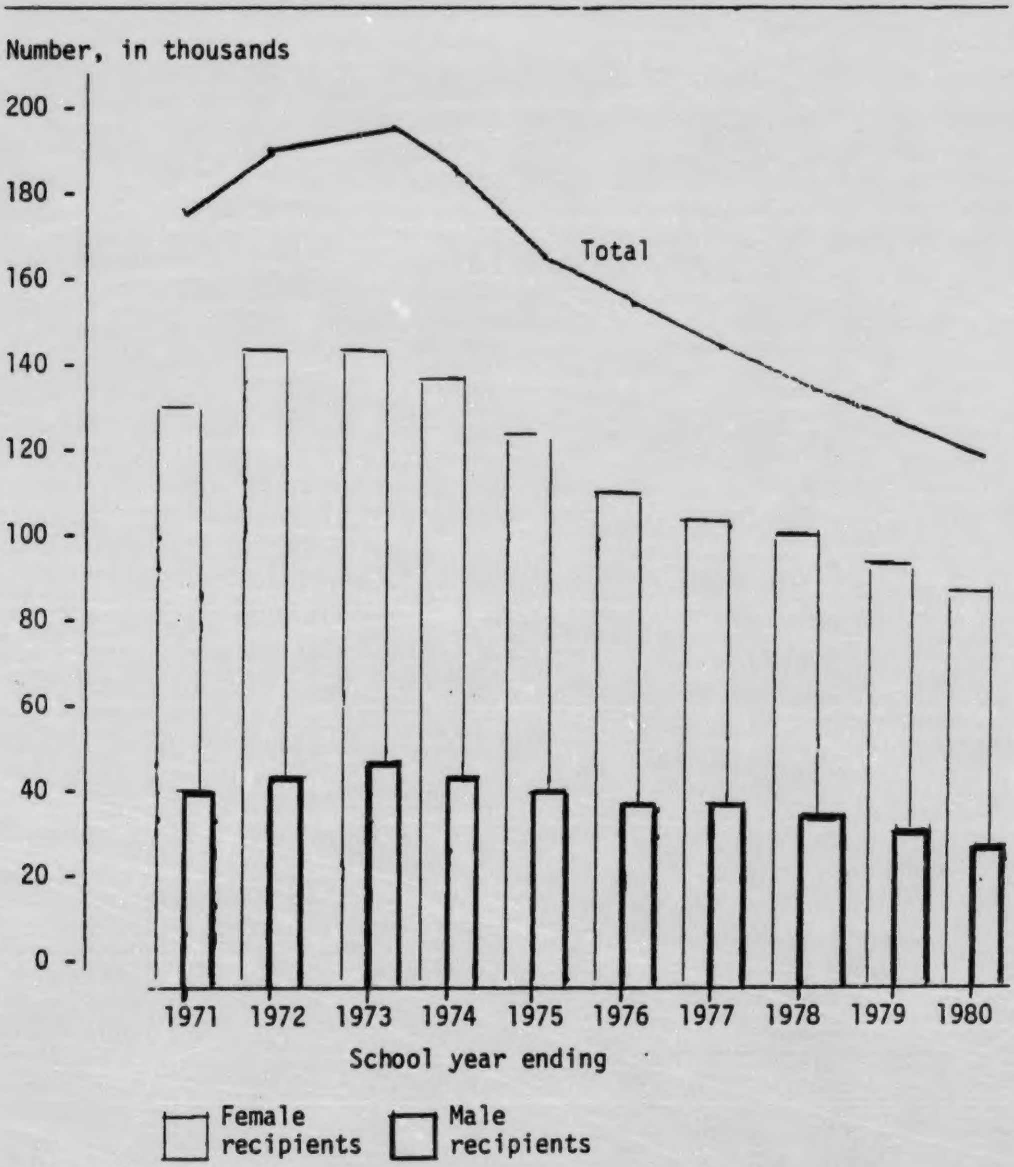
It should not surprise us, given the conditions discussed so far in the chapter, that there has been a catastrophic drop in the degree of satisfaction teachers report they find in their work. When a national survey of teachers asked, "Suppose you could go back to your college days and start over again; in view of your present knowledge, would you become a teacher?" Only 25 percent of female teachers and 16 percent of male teachers indicated that education would certainly be their career choice. (See Table 55.)

Status-Panic and Teacher Isolation

We might expect that the common problems teachers face would promote unity and cooperation within their ranks. We did not find that to be the case in most of the schools we studied. We found little evidence that teachers were united by the problems they shared. We found almost no evidence that teachers worked to bolster one another's flagging self-esteem. Instead, we found that teachers were generally isolated from one another and received little recognition from either colleagues or administrators. Some teachers complained that they were ignored, but no one we

Table 53

Earned Bachelor's Degrees in Education*



Among bachelor's degree recipients, the number of graduates in education rose in the early 1970's and then declined through the remainder of the decade. Of these graduates, the proportion of females decreased more sharply than the proportion of males.

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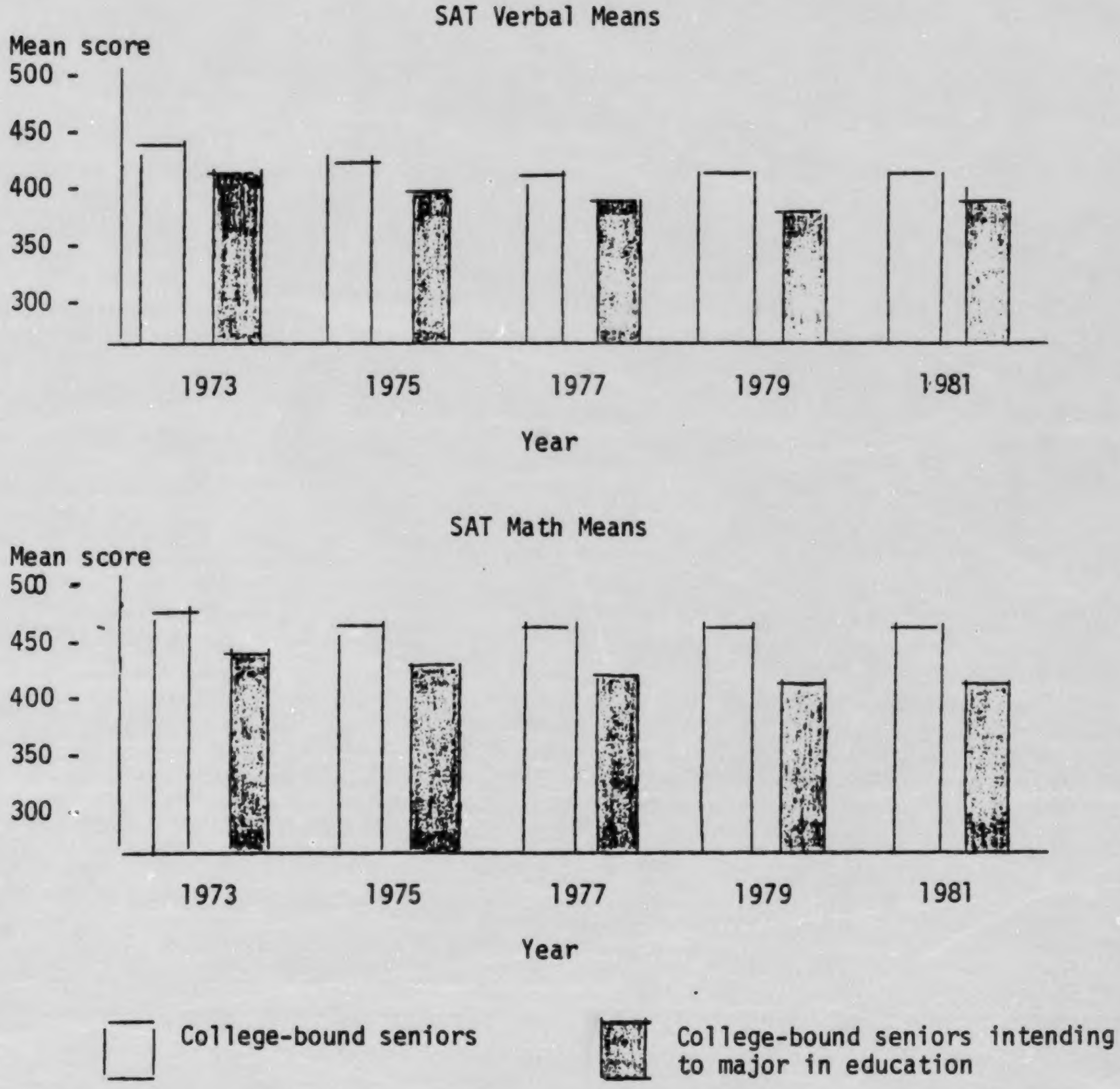
*Source: National Center for Education Statistics. The Condition of Education. 1982 Edition. U.S. Dept of Education, Washington, D.C.

Table 54

Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) Score Averages for College-Bound Seniors*



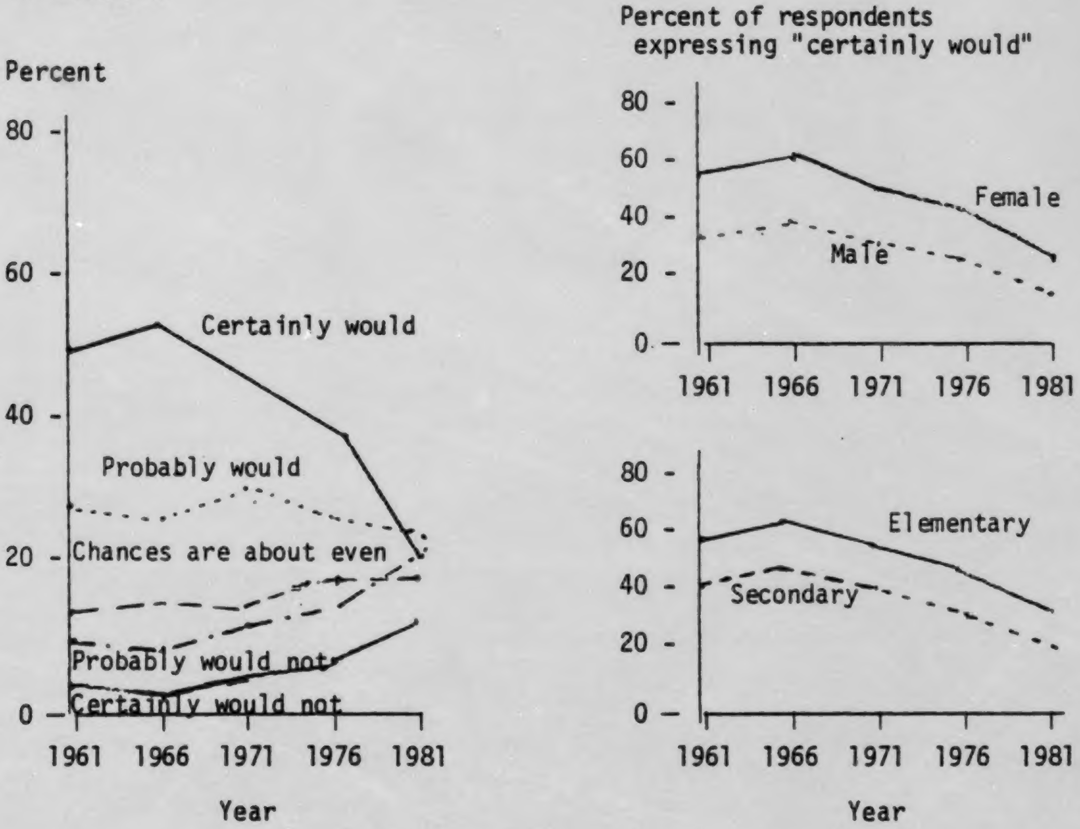
From 1973 to 1981, the national mean SAT verbal and math scores dropped from 445 and 481 to 424 and 466, respectively. During the same time period, among college-bound seniors who intended to major in education, SAT verbal scores decreased from 418 to 391 while math scores dropped from 449 to 418.

*Source: Dearmin & Plisko, 1982.

Table 55

Attitudes Toward the Teaching Profession: Opinions of Public School Teachers *

"Suppose you could go back to your college days and start over again; in view of your present knowledge, would you become a teacher?"



The proportion of teachers who would choose the teaching profession if they had a chance to start over declined considerably from 1961 to 1981. In every year, men were less likely than women to affirm their original choice, and secondary teachers were less likely than elementary teachers to do so.
*Source: Dearmin & Plisko, 1982.

talked with had much hope that anything could be done to diminish teacher isolation or promote a sense of community within the schools:

> I think this year I have suffered from what they call teacher burn-out. There is very, very little recognition here. Even a dog needs to be patted on the head, but we don't get that here. It makes you question whether it's worth it.

Another teacher told us that everyone needs to be "told that he or she does something well." She wished that administrators would pay attention to her accomplishments and let her know on occasion that she was "doing a good job with these kids." She thought if she could just "hear that twice a year" she would feel her job was "worth it." She went on to say that administrators had "never been [in my class] to really see what I've done and that hurts. You try, you really try and you take your profession seriously. You don't just sit on the job. But you never hear anything except complaints about your mistakes. You never hear anything that's worth while."

We asked another teacher what kinds of things might be done within the school to decrease her feelings of uncertainty and isolation. She told us:

> Well, I really don't know. I can't really put my finger on specific kinds of things. I just think you've got to have some kind of support for what you're trying to do.

Another teacher commented on the lack of support systems in her school:

> I think there is a separation here that shouldn't exist. But my general complaint is how quickly administrators forget what it's actually like to be working in classrooms. They forget some of the problems and frustrating times that you go through. They forget that you need some support and understanding and it's very seldom. . .that you have someone who's genuinely interested [in what you're doing] and willing to lend you an ear and listen to your problems.

Teachers appear to be especially frustrated by administrators' lack of recognition for their hard work and accomplishments. One teacher told us that her husband was encouraging her to leave teaching:

> He sees how much teaching has devastated me over the years, and it has. A lot of these kids can break your heart. And he says I don't get much reward from teaching. I guess he's right, we certainly don't get much from the front office.

> We might get a pat on the back at a faculty meeting when the principal says, "You all have done a terrific job." But nobody comes in and says, "Thanks for stopping the riots at the basketball game." That was something I did this year. And no one says, "Thanks for letting us know that such and such was going on." And no one says, "We think you're doing a terrific job." I don't know of anybody in the schools who has ever gotten that kind of recognition.

If it is true, as John Rawls and others contend, that recognition from significant others is necessary for the establishment and maintenance of self-esteem, then teachers' self-esteem is put in jeopardy by the general lack of administrative and collegial support. (Rawls, 1971, p. 441.) A teacher understated this point when she told us, "It's awfully nice to get feedback from outside of yourself." The literature from social psychology and sociology which bears on self-esteem would suggest that it is not simply nice to have others evaluate one's work positively, it is essential to the maintenance of professional self-respect. Because teachers have difficulty assessing their classroom accomplishments and receive little recognition from the community, colleagues, or administrators, their professional self-esteem is put in a state of continual jeopardy. Teachers' anxiety concerning their professional competence is heightened by a value system that links self-esteem with salary and social standing. Dedicated to the ethics and vertical mobility, teachers are discouraged to see their social standing in the community beginning to slip and their relative economic advantages being eroded. They are simultaneously angered and saddened to see the failures of the school system the subject of political debate, television exposés, and news magazine cover stories.

If teachers are the products of the best middle-class values, then they are also victims of this value system. We need not believe that teachers deserve the grim description of "white-collar man" offered by C. Wright Mills:

> He is more often pitiful than tragic, as he is seen collectively, fighting impersonal inflation, living out in slow misery his yearning for the quick American climb. He is pushed by forces beyond his control, pulled into movements he does not understand; he gets into situations in which his is the most helpless position. The white-collar man is the hero as victim, the small creature who is acted upon but who does not act, who works along unnoticed in somebody's office or store, never talking loud, never talking back, never taking a stand. (1951, p. xii)

It would be an error to apply this Babbitt-like description to teachers. As we observed in their classrooms, shared their ideas and frustrations during long conversations, spoke with their administrators and students, we never thought we were in the presence of Philistines or the children of Willie Loman. But we did continually sense that the teachers were confused and worried about their self definition. Like most middle-class Americans they desired to be successful but had difficulty finding tangible signs of their success. They worked long hours, facing sometimes more than 150 students a day. They planned lessons, taught classes, counseled students, attended meetings, sponsored clubs, corrected papers, filled out forms, wrote report cards, coached sports, talked with parents, and much more, and yet they had little way of knowing whether all this work amounted to anything. They are keepers of the American dream, strivers, carriers of middle-class values, but they have no product to call their own. They are unsure of their accomplishments on the classroom level and are unsupported by colleagues and the community. In this sense they are victims of the values they hold. They have difficulty reconciling their actual achievements with their personal expectations.

Michael Lewis (1978) contends that most middle-class Americans are frustrated by the mismatch between actual achievements and personal expectations. As he explains:

> If our quest of self-respect leads us to high aspirations, the chances are very great that in the overwhelming majority of cases there will be considerable difference between what we think we are capable of and what it is we actually seem to be achieving. And if the maintenance of self-respect depends upon not only great expectations but great expectations realized, then such disparities are likely to pose a major threat to the self-esteem of many Americans. (p. 15)

Lewis contends that aspirations by themselves are relatively unproblematic. However, "convincing ourselves that we have indeed been successful--that our dreams have been realized and that consequently we may respect outselves--is extremely problematic." (p. 15) The aspirations of teachers encourage them to lay claim to "the good life" and to personal achievement. But as Lewis has pointed out, those same values make "any perceived failure. . .a threat of significant psychological force to our self-esteem." Failure, or the hint of failure, in fact anything but the absolute assurance that our accomplishments have exceeded our aspirations, "threatens our self-esteem by causing us to doubt our character, our competence, or quite possibly both. To the extent. . .that our aspirations go unrealized (whatever the reason), we are threatened and troubled by personal guilt. Fearing that we have done less than we should, we are all too frequently haunted by the sense that we have done ill." (p. 17) Teachers are so haunted. They possess no personal nor institutional means of exorcising the ubiquitous worry that they have failed to fulfill their own middle-class success aspirations. They are particularly vulnerable to the self-doubt and status panic that characterize many white-collar workers.

The Psychological Functions of Teacher Isolation

Teachers generally work alone, out of sight of colleagues, and this isolation no doubt contributes to their competence uncertainties. Without colleague contact teachers can gain no meaningful peer support and no consensual standard of practice (Lortie, 1975).

The teachers we spoke with were aware of their professional isolation and many were troubled by the insular nature of their work. "I wish I had the opportunity to go around to other classes," said one teacher. "I want to observe other teachers." She felt she could learn from her peers. Another teacher said he was sorry that "we don't help each other out [in this school]." A third teacher complained that she hadn't

> gotten a lot of support from people [in her school]. You ask them to try to help you do something, and they say, "I really don't have the time." They're leaving at 3:15 or 3:30 instead of a quarter to four. They go home, and they don't take anything with them. And they won't help anybody do anything. . . ."

If teacher isolation has its drawbacks, it also has its functions. Staying out of the view of others protects a teacher from the interference of colleagues and from further threats to an already shaky self-esteem. One teacher told us that her school offered no orientation for new teachers. She said she had been teaching for four months at her school before she learned that instructional materials were available for teacher use in the school library. "It wasn't until after the new year that I [learned] that I could go down and get materials [from the library] instead of spending every night developing my own." We asked this teacher why none of her colleagues helped her. She answered, "It's each man for himself."

While the new teacher just quoted was inconvenienced by her isolation from colleagues, she assured us that she was not complaining about being left alone. "I'd rather stay on my own," she explained, because "I'm not the type of person who is cliquish." She went on to say that she felt more comfortable being left to her own devices even though it meant that she occasionally had to do extra work and live with the knowledge that, as she put it, "nobody really cared enough" to help her out. This teacher felt there was greater safety behind the closed door of her classroom than there would be in the more open world of cooperation.

Another teacher said that she was not bothered by "the loneliness of teaching" because, as she put it, "I'm basically a loner anyway. Maybe that helps."

We asked a middle school teacher if he had ever talked to his peers about common concerns and problems. "No," he answered, "because I never felt the need to do that. When I leave [the classroom] I leave my problems and try to settle them when I get back." Sharing problems, he explained, was a sign of uncertainty, and he assured us that he was "not a wishy-washy person." He went on to say that he never saw his colleagues socially because, "It's usually been my policy that my social life and my school life are two different things. [They are] geared differently."

Isolation places a buffer between teachers and potential threats to their self-esteem. It serves to simplify the psychological life of teachers. One teacher told us that she was glad that she did not socialize with her fellow teachers because isolation allowed her to avoid "the gossip and the problems that teachers probably. . .have with each other. I'm sure there are personality conflicts, but I don't know about them because I'm not in on it."

Of course some teachers are bothered by the insular nature of their work. One teacher complained that her colleagues were working "in their own little world. Everybody is doing their own thing and nobody is helping anybody else." As a consequence, she explained, the school becomes atomized and the educational enterprise hopelessly segmented. "Nobody is working together [with colleagues] to make this a whole school. I don't think a school can be effective that way. We're all in the boat together, and it's sinking." The teacher felt personally powerless to effect a change in teacher relationships. She said that the habit of isolation was so embedded in teachers that only the principal would have the power to break the norms of non-interference. "I just think the administration. . .needs to be strong. I think the administration has got to try to foster [teacher cooperation]."

Another teacher at the same school explained why colleagues did not cooperate:

> We have the chance, but we don't do it. I don't do it that much. I don't know why that is. I . . .think it would embarrass us if we hadn't thought of an idea ourselves and had to get it from another teacher.

In other words, merely receiving help from a colleague can be threatening to the shaky professional self-esteem of the teacher. Isolation protects individuals from the burden of such threats.

The isolation of teachers and its attendant ideology of non-interference mitigate against teachers offering to help a colleague even when it is clear that the colleague is in need of help (McPherson, 1972). A high school department chairperson explained, "When teachers are having trouble, the rest of us generally ignore it. You can't come in. . .and tell teachers what they should be doing. I mean you can't. You cannot do it as a co-worker."

If getting inspiration from other teachers is threatening, keeping information to one's self can be self-assuring. An individual's pride in teaching a successful lesson may be diminished if other teachers have similar successes with the same material. If successful materials get passed around the school, a teacher may find their usefulness diminished because students coming into the class may have "already learned that stuff" in a previous course. This may explain why a teacher reported that she was unsuccessful when she asked colleagues for some helpful suggestions:

> Anybody's input would [have been] a help. If they would just share some of the things they have tried. But you know teachers get hold of a good idea and instead of sharing it, they hoard it. A lot of teachers are that way. They get some material and hoard it and won't let you see it. But I need some ideas and materials. I'm dying for information.

While it may be true, as we suggested in the last chapter, that teacher insularity heightens self-doubt by depriving teachers of collegial support, it also appears that isolation from peers is a consequence of teacher uncertainty. An analysis of ethnographic interview data gives warrant to the hypothesis that teachers respond to the uncertain nature of their profession by promoting an ideology of non-interference in one another's classrooms. Teachers avoid asking for help from or offering help to their colleagues and thereby lessen their vulnerability to negative evaluations from their peers. If an uncertain teacher keeps his uncertainties and successes to himself, he can legitimately expect others to do the same.

The Organizational Function of Teacher Isolation

The psychological function of teacher insularity is to assuage the several uncertainties that teachers face; the social function of insularity is to decrease institutional disruption when teachers are absent, quit, or transfer to other schools. If teachers are self-contained and self-sufficient then no teacher or group of teachers becomes indispensable to the smooth operation of the school. Every teacher is a unit unto him or herself, and all units are functionally interchangeable. New teachers need little orientation and their efficiency does not require long initiation periods, learning the ropes, or building close relationships with colleagues.

We asked an experienced teacher how her colleagues would describe her if they were being candid. Although she has worked in the school for over a year, she was unable to answer the question:

> I think the majority of faculty don't know I'm here. The principal never introduced me. He would introduce teacher aides and interns [from the university], but he never introduced me. I kidded him [about that] one day, and I was sure

> [he would introduce me] at the next faculty meeting, but he never did. I don't know if he just thought I was always here or what. I really don't know the answer to that, but it was rather strange. There are some teachers here I don't even know the names of.

The principal may have breached a rule of etiquette, but he violated no organizational imperatives when he failed to introduce the new teacher to his faculty. At that particular school it was not necessary that teachers know one another. The aides might serve many teachers and so they needed to be known, and interns might be mistaken for students so they needed to be identified. But teachers work by themselves and can easily be replaced. Of course teachers vary in personality and instructional methods, but the insularity of teaching assures that individuality and personality are not of central importance to the school's operation.

When we asked another teacher at the same school how her peers would describe her, she answered:

> I don't know, I don't know. [At my last school] I was very, very popular with the faculty and fairly popular with the students. The day I left students stood in front of my car and said that I'd have to run over them if I planned to leave. I was very popular with the faculty at that school. But here, I don't know. . .I don't think they know whether I'm here or not.

Teacher isolation functions to deprive teachers of the power to influence school-wide decisions that affect the conditions of their work. If teachers do not often speak of common problems, they are not likely to object to decisions that have a negative impact on their work. Administrative decisions can be made at the top, by principals, county administrators, or state officials without faculty consultation. Many teachers we talked to were disturbed by what they perceived to be their powerlessness within the organization of the school. One teacher said:

> I think there is too much of a separation between the administration and. . .classroom teachers. [Administrators lack] actual feelings for [and an] understanding of what goes on in the classroom.

The interviewer probed for further information by repeating the teacher's comment, "So you have the impression that administrators at this school don't know what's going on in the classroom?" The teacher responded, "Yes. Sometimes I have the feeling they don't care, either."

A second teacher told us, "I haven't ever been involved in a school where I had much say-so." A third teacher complained:

> Teachers aren't consulted as much as they should be by the county officials or school administrators. A lot of decisions that I don't agree with don't originate at this school. For example, I don't think we should test 10th graders [on the Basic Skills test] but that's not a school decision; that comes from the state. And the administrators at this school didn't decide to spread the Basic Skills classes among teachers, that was a county decision.

When decisions are made in far-off administrative offices and the rationale for decisions is not shared with faculty, some teachers begin to feel manipulated. They suspect the decisions serve the administrative convenience of the bureaucracy rather than the interests of students or the teachers themselves. For example, in 1980 a county decision was made to have most math and English teachers take one or two Basic Skills classes rather than giving Basic Skills assignments to a few specialized instructors. Teachers claimed they were not consulted on this issue. Because Basic Skills classes were small, the effect of the decision was to increase the number of preparations for most teachers while decreasing the total number of pupils each teacher met in a day:

> The county decided to spread Basic Skills classes across many teachers [because they had] to lower teacher-student ratios. They increased the work of individual teachers, but they lowered the students-to-teacher ratio of each teacher. [The results] looked good on paper, but they hurt the effectiveness of teachers. The administration didn't stop to think what [their decision] did to people. Some teachers just teach one Basic Skills class and that's ridiculous. All the preparation they have to do to get ready to teach [that one class] takes time away from their other classes. Part of the administration's motivation was political, and part of it was sheer laziness.
>
> It would make more sense if we could figure out our own assignments within a department. We know more. They could give us the classes [that needed to be taught], and the periods when those classes should meet. We could figure out the rest. But administrators insist on making the decisions, and they mess them up.

Another teacher commented on the same issue:

> Too many teachers are teaching Basic Skills classes. Now [administrators] do that for some reason. The first being that they believe that no teacher wants to teach three or four Basic Skills classes. That's

> true up to a point. But their real concern is to lower our teacher-student ratio. If we teach six classes with 35 or more students, our student-teacher ratio is high. But if they throw in one or two Basic Skills classes where there are only 10 or 15 students, they lower our student-teacher ratio substantially. That looks good on paper. They want to stay below the recommended level of 150 students per teacher.
>
> As a result, we have four teachers teaching 11th grade Basic Skills. We don't have sufficient materials for all teachers so we have to do a lot of trading back and forth. One of the teachers is not even housed in this department so there is a physical problem of transferring materials. It's hard for us to get together to plan and share.

Some teachers express frustration over their inability to influence the decision-making process. One teacher told us, "We are sometimes consulted, but it never seems to matter." Another teacher had a similar complaint:

> We talk [with administrators] to a certain extent, but I don't know that anybody listens. You tell your department head and he can pass it on to the principal, but it doesn't help. The administration starts planning and they don't think about our problems. They have problems of their own.

This study did not include an analysis of administrative activities, and we cannot attest to the accuracies or inaccuracies of teacher perceptions about administrators. The point being made here is simply that teacher insularity may increase teacher powerlessness and administrative autonomy. As a result many teachers feel alienated from their peers, from the administration, and from the process of education itself:

> We have our little secret pals [at this school], and we do little things together, but because the administration is not really with us. . .we're not together [as a faculty]. I don't know what would bring us together. We feel so beaten down.

Many teachers complained that they were not accorded the respect they deserve by administrators. They considered themselves to be professionals and were offended when they were treated like functionaries within a bureaucracy or like children who were not to be trusted. We were at one school on a teacher work day after students had been dismissed for the summer. Teachers were cleaning their classrooms while the assistant principal reminded them frequently over the PA system that they were not allowed to leave the school until their grades had been turned in and their rooms had been checked for cleanliness. They were informed that someone would come to their classes to check each of their file drawers and desks to make sure that everything was clean. A teacher commented:

> I've taught at a lot of schools and nobody has ever looked into my desk drawers, never. I feel it's rather an intrusion. They're saying I'm not professional.
>
> The biggest [problem at this school] is that we're being treated unprofessionally. We're talked down to. We're asked our opinion, but we know that it isn't going to make any difference. We'll get talked down to at faculty meetings. If a teacher has done something wrong, then [the administration] should tell that teacher. But the whole faculty shouldn't have to be lectured to.

Just as not all teachers were cognizant of or particularly disturbed by their isolation from peers, not all teachers are conscious of or offended by the fact that they are sometimes treated "unprofessionally." For example, we were interviewing a high school English and art teacher when the principal walked into her classroom. The conversation between the teacher and the administrator went as follows:

> Principal: You know I won't check you out until that art room is clean. (The principal turns to leave.)
>
> Teacher: But wait, wait, wait. I still have some art materials to store in there. I put some stuff in there yesterday. When I did, Herman* said . . . .
>
> Principal: (The principal interrupts.) Herman don't know how to clean out stuff [sic]. He's not responsible, I am.
>
> Teacher: But he's my boss . . . .
>
> Principal: No, I'm your boss, sweetie.
>
> Teacher: But I asked Herman, "Can I just leave this stuff here [in the art room]?" He said, "Yes, you just leave it here."
>
> Principal: No. The answer to that question is no. Wait 'til I hit his office.
>
> Teacher: Well, he's not here.

---

*Names have been changed throughout this report.

Principal: If he wants his paycheck he'll have to get checked out. If I don't check him out, he doesn't get his pay check. If he wants to wait until the end of the summer, that's fine. I'm just saying that the room has to be cleaned out and that is his responsibility.

Teacher: But he's not here. If you can give me the key I'll take some more stuff up there after I've finished my grades. What should I do, put all that stuff in a box?

Principal: I don't want you to leave that stuff in the front room.

Teacher: Oh, I thought you were talking about the art room.

Principal: No, that's fine as long as it's locked up. But the front room is your responsibility. You use it all the time and it's filthy. Clean it up. You and Herman both.

Teacher: Oh, you mean the room that has all those boxes?

Principal: Boxes and art material and all that other stuff that needs to be put away in the back.

Teacher: Well, if Herman's not here, I'm just going to throw it away.

Principal: Don't throw away the art material. Give it to Reggie and let her lock it up for next year.

Teacher: O. K., I can handle that. Where are you going to be?

Principal: I'll be around.

Teacher: But I have to get into the room to put away the art material.

Principal: I'll be around. (The principal exits.)

Uncertainty, Isolation and Alienation

Erich Fromm has suggested that when individuals doubt their professional competence, their social status, and self-worth, an available haven from anxiety is found in conformity to authority (1963, pp. 151-163). The English/art teacher we quoted above did not indicate to us that she was affronted by the attitude of her principal. She merely wanted to understand the lines of authority and clarify what was expected of her. Insofar as teacher isolation sets individuals adrift to deal with their own status insecurities and competence worries, it will promote in many an urge to conform to prevailing norms and to avoid questioning the assumptions on which those norms are based. They find security in their acceptance of the status quo and acquiescence to the institutional pressure to conform. As one teacher put it, "I guess some feel that they should not rock the boat, They should just go along with things and forget about it."

As we have seen, many teachers were bothered by their inability to influence administrative decisions, but others accepted their relative powerlessness with adaptive good grace. For example, we asked a teacher what might be done to increase morale at this school. He answered:

> I can't think of anything. These questions are hard to answer; they are things you don't think about very often."

When we asked the same question of another teacher, she replied, "I would rather not get into that. I just won't get into that." Another teacher commented, "I don't feel as if I'm a part of a team. I feel decisions are being made someplace else." When we asked if this state of affairs was bothersome, the teacher replied:

> I guess I never thought about a question like that before. I'm sure that if there was a way I could better the program, I think I would be listened to. But as it stands now, I am just kinda doing what I'm told to do.

At least for some teachers, the combination of professional uncertainty, status panic, lack of recognition, and isolation appears to engender an attitude of unreflective acceptance and quiet conformity. In their eagerness to find security in an uncertain professional world, they take care not to rock the boat and not to offend colleagues, parents, or supervisors. When asked what is needed to improve teacher morale or performance, they are stymied by the question. If pushed, they might suggest that teachers work harder or that administrators "get tough with incompetent faculty." They do not suggest changes in the organizational structure of the school and rarely recommend that teachers work more closely together in order to solve common problems. They have reified what they call "the system" and do not think it is in their power (individually or collectively) to change how that system works. They may be dissatisfied with teaching, but they trace the cause of that dissatisfaction to failure of students or flaws in themselves and not to social troubles within the system itself. They share no collective consciousness with their fellow teachers and no communal vision of their professional task. They are unable to achieve what C. Wright Mills once called a "lucid summation of what is going on in the world and what may be happening within themselves." (1959, p. 5)

Our discussions with teachers convinced us that for many the conditions of their employment promote an attitude of non-involvement, uniformity, and acceptance of the status quo. It engenders feelings of insecurity, status panic, and self-protection through isolation. These are conditions that promote a form of alienation that social psychologists have called self-estrangement.

Self-estrangement refers to a loss of meaningful connection between the worker and his work. According to Robert Blauner, "When an individual lacks control over the work process and a sense of purposeful connection to the work enterprise, he may experience a kind of depersonalized detachment rather than an immediate involvement in the job task." (1964, p. 27)

Many of the teachers we talked with and observed claimed that their profession was not fulfilling their needs or tapping their potentials. One teacher lamented that she had completed college in the early 1960's:

> If I were today's woman, I wouldn't be sitting here right now, and I'm not sure I'll be sitting here two or three years from now. I don't remember ever making a conscious decision to be a teacher, never. I was a history major and . . . I was going to either go to law school or get a Ph.D. in history. I was offered a full tuition scholarship for a Ph.D. in history. I just picked up those education courses to have that teaching certificate. I never intended to end up here . . . .

Another teacher said that if she had it to do over she would not become a teacher again because, "I have capacities that I haven't tapped, that can't be tapped in teaching."

To these individuals, and many of their colleagues, teaching provides only a weak sense of accomplishment, satisfaction or success. They are estranged from their work and from themselves. They feel they have given up an essential part of themselves to pursue a task that provides little professional recognition, social status, remuneration, or personal satisfaction. They do not realize themselves through their work and are haunted by the knowledge that they have not become all that they once hoped to be. They form a negative occupational identity that threatens their already beleaguered self-esteem. Blauner discussed the connection between a lack of job satisfaction and self-identity:

> Self-estranging work compounds and intensifies [the] problem of a negative occupational identity. When work provides opportunities for control, creativity, and challenge -- when, in a word, it is self-expressive and enhances an individual's unique potentialities -- then it contributes to the worker's sense of self-respect and dignity and at least partially overcomes the stigma of low status. Alienated work -- without control, freedom, or responsibility -- on the other hand, simply confirms and deepens the feeling that societal estimates of low status and little worth are valid. (1964, p. 31)

We are not suggesting that all or even most teachers are estranged from their work or themselves. We are instead suggesting that the pressures of isolation, status panic, uncertainty, and non-recognition make it difficult for teachers to avoid such estrangement. We have tried to show that professional isolation is promoted by the physical and social organization of many schools and by a social-psychological milieu of non-interference that dominates the work place. The psychology of individual teachers also promotes insularity because isolation offers some protection against the uncertainties of their profession. Under such pressures it is difficult for teachers to maintain high efficacy attitudes for any students, let alone for the most troubled, low achievers in their classrooms.

The aim of this chapter was to place the activities and uncertainties of teachers within the context of a middle-class value system that promotes that social mobility and personal achievement within the context of a social organization that puts a limit on teacher income and status, provides little tangible evidence of educational achievement, promotes non-involvement, isolation, and powerlessness.

CHAPTER 9

A Qualitative Study of Efficacy: Introduction

Problems in the Study of Efficacy

In every day parlance, the word "efficacy" is defined as the capacity to produce a desired effect. Efficacy is synonymous with effectiveness. Within the social sciences, there has been a growing interest in individuals' perceptions of efficacy. Persons with a high sense of efficacy see themselves as capable of achieving some specified goal. For example, teachers with positive efficacy attitudes express and display the belief that they can positively affect student learning. It has been hypothesized that educators who possess a positive sense of efficacy are the most effective teachers (Armor et al.,1976; Berman et al., 1977). The task of the present research is to determine how such a hypothesis can be best studied.

A literature review and our own preliminary research indicate some of the complexities which plague the study of efficacy. A few of these complexities are listed below.

1. Teachers with a positive sense of efficacy see themselves as capable of teaching and see students capable of learning. Thus the study of teacher efficacy attitudes must probe four dimensions; two dealing with teacher's perceived capacities and two dealing with a teacher's perceptions of student capacities. (See Figure 7.)

		Teacher's Perceptions of his/her Own Capabilities	
		I am capable of teaching	I am incapable of teaching
Teacher's Perceptions of Student Capabilities	Students are capable of learning	Teacher capable Students capable A	C Teacher incapable Students capable
	Students are incapable of learning	B Teacher capable Students incapable	D Teacher incapable Students incapable

Figure 7: Teacher Efficacy Perceptions

As can be seen from Figure 7, teachers with a high sense of efficacy are those who see themselves as capable of teaching and who see students as capable of learning (Cell A). Efficacy attitudes are soured by either a low perception of personal capacities or a low perception of student capacities (Cells B, C, and D).

2. Teacher efficacy attitudes may differ depending on the students with whom they work. An educator who feels quite capable of teaching gifted students to soar to creative heights may feel incapable of helping low achieving students make even modest academic progress. For the purposes of this study, we have focused on efficacy attitudes as they relate to low achieving, low socio-economic status (SES) students.

3. Perceptions of efficacy refer to attitudes which may or may not be related to teacher effectiveness. It is conceivable that a teacher who reports a high sense of efficacy, in fact, may not possess the skills he believes he possesses. Conversely, a teacher who is dissatisfied with her performance and doubts her capabilities, in fact, may be an effective teacher. Thus, a study of teacher efficacy perceptions must take into account possible differences between perceptions of efficacy and a teacher's actual effectiveness in the classroom. (See Figure 8.)

4. We ask a great deal of teachers when we question them regarding efficacy. A teacher's efficacy perceptions are directly related to his/her feelings of professional competence and self worth. Understandably, a teacher may hesitate to reveal that he feels ineffective. He may hide this perception from an investigator and perhaps from himself. Similarly, a teacher may be hesitant to reveal that she doubts the learning capacities of her low achieving, low SES students. The professional ideology of educators demands that no student be "written off" as incapable of learning--at least not on the basis of his or her socio-economic background. All this being the case, it is necessary to study not only the professed beliefs of teachers but their professional performance as well.

5. A teacher's sense of efficacy may vary depending on the objectives under consideration. For example, a teacher may feel capable of teaching students to read but incapable of teaching them to compute. Thus, the study of teacher efficacy necessitates a sensitivity to subject matter objectives.

6. The sixth complexity involved in the study of efficacy is related to the fifth. A teacher's sense of personal efficacy is likely to be affected by the objectives teachers set for themselves. A teacher may report an inflated sense of efficacy because he holds quite modest (easily obtainable) objectives, while another teacher may report a deflated sense of efficacy because her objectives are quite high and difficult to achieve. One teacher may feel effective because his students love him, while another may feel ineffective because all of his students are not reading on grade level. As Dan Lortie observed, "the demanding perfectionist will feel depressed by outcomes which cheer the more easy-going colleague" (Lortie, 1975, p. 141).

Teacher Efficacy

Teacher Effectiveness		High Efficacy	Low Efficacy
	High Effectiveness	High Efficacy Low Effectiveness A	Low Efficacy High Effectiveness C
	Low Effectiveness	B High Efficacy Low Effectiveness	B Low Efficacy Low Effectiveness

Figure 8: Teacher efficacy perceptions and teacher effectiveness

7. It is a common misconception that attitudes are the primary cause of behavior. While attitudes may cause behavior, the opposite is also sometimes true. For example, religious beliefs may "cause" one to pray and go to church, and praying and going to church may strengthen one's religious beliefs. Or to use an example more relevant to the present research, a positive sense of efficay may "cause" a teacher to employ effective teaching behavior, and the employment of effective teaching behaviors may also affect a teacher's sense of efficacy.

8. Factors unrelated to a teacher's attitudes and behaviors may affect what a teacher thinks and does. Student behavior, for example, may change a teacher's beliefs, as may the organization of the school, the climate of the classroom, or the attitudes of fellow teachers. A study of efficacy must be sensitive to these issues.

In Search of Methodology

As we compiled the above list of complexities, it became clear that the study of efficacy did not lend itself to exclusive use of traditional methodologies. The use of questionnaires and social psychological instruments would not by themselves unravel the mysteries of efficacy. If efficacy was a transactive phenomenon as we expected it to be, its study would have to take place where relevant transactions were likely to occur--that is, in the classroom. We would have to investigate the processes by which efficacy attitudes are formed and have their influence on the behavior of teachers, and students. This suggested the need to use the methodology of qualitative sociology.

What was significant for our purposes was not simply the study of individual beliefs so much as the "moments of context" in which the beliefs are translated into action and in which actions have an effect on beliefs. Thus our focus in the early stages of this study was not to be on the teacher and his or her psychology but rather on the reciprocal interaction of the teacher and the social environment of the classroom. We understand that efficacy might show itself in many forms and have multiple effects--both on the behavior of the teacher and the attitudes and behavior of the students--but we were looking for some minimal model of the teaching process that would account for efficacy in all its forms.

In short, we were seeking a theory of teaching that was broad enough to expose and explain the behaviors teachers have in common yet detailed enough to illuminate and explicate deviations from the norm. We needed to uncover the basic social psychological processes alive in the teaching act which would serve to explain the wide variations we find in the behavior of public school teachers. Of course, such a theory of teaching would potentially involve much more than the question of efficacy, but our focus would have to be on the efficacy issue. Theoretical constructs which did not bear on efficacy would have to be put aside to await exploration at a later date.

Grounded Theory

Social science research has traditionally dedicated itself to testing hypotheses and/or verifying established theories. While such approaches are immensely useful, they are more likely to deepen our knowledge than broaden it. An alternative to the testing of formal theories is to develop theories grounded in empirical data of cultural description, what Glaser and Strauss have called grounded theory (Glaser, 1978; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). In this section of the report we shall discuss how we used grounded theory to study teacher behavior, not for the purpose of testing hypotheses from a predetermined theory, but rather for the purpose of developing a conceptual framework for understanding and explaining what takes place in public school classrooms, given certain sets of circumstances.

Our review of the literature revealed many theories of teaching but no theory of classroom behavior which bore directly on the question of efficacy. We agreed with Phyllis Stern (1980) that

> the strongest case for the use of grounded theory is in investigations of relatively uncharted waters, or to gain a fresh perspective in a familiar situation. In the first instance, it can easily be understood that where no theory regarding a situation exists, it is impossible to test theory. It is especially helpful--even necessary--in attempting to study complex areas of behavioral problems where salient variables have not been identified. In the second instance, it becomes clear that the value of a fresh perspective in a familiar situation is in its applicability to practical problems. (p. 20)

The study of teacher efficacy displayed both problems. While there are many studies of teaching, few of them shed much light on the efficacy issue. Our research was seeking new information in familiar territory. We were aware that in the social sciences familiarity breeds not so much contempt as it does blindness. Every American is familiar with the daily routines of classroom life, but our taken for granted assumptions about schooling can easily blind us to subtle aspects of the teaching process.

Grounded theory offered a methodology for solving the multiple problems which surround the study of efficacy. It is a form of field methodology which aims to generate the theoretical constructs that help us understand the social behavior under study. It allows for limited intrusion by the investigator, and it differs from other methodologies in important aspects: (1) Theory is generated from data rather than from previous studies, although a review of pertinent literature is an important component in theory formation. (2) Grounded theory attempts to discover and describe the essential social process alive in a social situation. It does not merely describe what goes on but attempts to develop a conceptual framework for understanding and explaining social behavior. (3) The process of 'grounding' a theory is intricate and cannot be adequately summarized in a brief introduction. However, an essential component of grounded theory methodology is that every piece of data is painstakingly compared with every other piece of data. Conceptual formations grow from the data but are then brought back to the data for further verification. (5) Grounded theory does not proceed through a series of linear steps. Instead, investigators work at several research tasks at once. In the following section, we will briefly describe some of the methods found useful in grounded theory. However, it is important to keep in mind that we have separated these steps for the convenience of description. As Hutchinson (1979) describes it, "the processes of grounded theory are circular rather than linear. That is, the researcher begins data collection, proceeds through a number of steps, such as open coding, theoretical sampling, memoing, sorting, identification of basic social psychological processes, and then begins again." (p. 27)

Data Collection

Data collection in this phase of the study was conducted in two middle schools in a Florida community. The schools were organized quite differently but were approximately the same size and served similar populations. Observations were conducted in four separate classrooms in each of the two schools. Data were collected from a variety of sources; interviews, classroom observations, documents, test scores and discussions with former teachers. Over a hundred hours of classroom observation and interviews were completed in the first stage of this research. Questionnaires were administered to over half of the teacher population in both schools and extensive interviews were conducted with eight teachers after the classroom observation process was completed. Further data were collected during a day long workshop in which participating teachers came together to discuss preliminary findings of our research.

Coding

After each classroom observation, researchers returned to the university to complete their field notes. These notes were typed. Before our field work was completed we had amassed over two hundred pages of protocol and interview material.

Protocols were typed on cards leaving a wide, left side margin. A researcher was assigned to read the protocols and to code each incident with words that describe what the primary actor was doing. Our coding focus was on teacher behavior, and thus our codes were descriptive of the educator's activity rather than student activity. Some early codes included "giving up," "ignoring," "managing," "lecturing," "stigmatizing," and so on. By staying close to the data and using codes that described only what was clearly going on, the researcher guarded against imposing preconceived interpretations on protocal data. Codes were written in the margin of the protocols,and all incidents received a code.

As codes were developed, the researcher began to develop a definition of each code. This was done by returning to the data and insuring that incidents that received the same code shared important characteristics. Codes were compared with other codes. In this process some codes were dropped, other codes were established, and a clearer description of each code began to emerge.

As the researcher began to mass a large number of codes (we had over 200 in the early stages of the coding process), a re-examination of the codes was undertaken. The researcher asked a series of questions of each code. The objectives of these questions were to establish: (1) the apparent causes of each behavior described in a code, (2) the contexts in which the behavior was likely to emerge, (3) the contingencies that characterized the behavior, (4) the consequences that followed from the behavior, (5) the activities which covaried with the code and (6) the conditions under which the code occurred.

Each of these coding activities necessitated a return to the data to verify the accuracy of the code descriptions and the dimensions in which the coded activity took place. In this way, the researchers insured that codes were grounded in protocol data.

Glaser and Strauss insist that the development of warranted codes necessitates careful attention to data, continual comparisons among codes, careful questioning of each code, and a willingness to let go of codes that do not meet high standards of accuracy.

Quality codes bind analytic insight and imagery. As Glaser describes it, "a code with analytic ability is easily related to other codes with specified meanings and can be combined with other codes to develop a warranted and well grounded theory. Good codes must also have descriptive imagery that frees the researcher from having to continually illustrate the meaning of his or her code." (1978, p. 40)

The codes developed at this stage of grounded theory research are called *substantive codes* because they codify the substance of the data. The process of comparing a code with the data and comparing codes with other codes has been called the *continuous comparative methodology* of grounded theory. It is important to grounded theory that none of the steps be skipped, for each step further insures that the theory is verified by data and not by some preconceived social scientific theory.

As codes begin to take shape, some are discarded because they do not meet the rigorous criteria set out by the methodology. Others emerge as most descriptive, useful, and convincing. The researcher then works to sort codes into useful categories. Categories are simply codes that appear to hang together. For example, some codes clearly dealt with issues of discipline, while other codes described processes of teaching. The comparative process used in code development is used again in coding categorization. Categories are compared with other categories, with the codes from which they emerged, and from the data in which they must be grounded. This continual comparative process assures again that development of theory stays close to the data at hand.

Concept Formation: To this point the researcher has cut up available data into small descriptive segments. Slowly, however, the researcher must tie these segments together into codes, tie codes into categories, and finally tie categories into concepts. The process of concept formation begins tentatively as the researcher tries to find a conceptual framework in which to arrange his or her codes and categories. At this stage the objective of the investigator is to discover the main *social psychological problem* which motivates the behavior of actors and explains the social scene. At first, we suspected that our teachers' basic social psychological problem was to maintain classroom discipline. Over time, however, we saw that discipline maintenance was but a part of a larger problem; that being the maintenance and protection of a professional image of competence.

Conceptual Development: After the researcher has brought codes into conceptual categories, it becomes necessary to seek a further unification of the data. This is achieved through the processes of reduction, selective sampling of theoretical literature, and selective data sampling.

Reduction is a process whereby the researcher reexamines the code categories which have emerged. In the early stages of the present research, categories, such as the following, emerged: Lecturing processes, recitation processes, management activities, sorting behaviors, warning behaviors, discipline activities, organizational activities, and so on. Commonly, the number of code categories at this stage of the research is plentiful, complex, and too overwhelming to be useful. The researcher must seek to reduce the reconceptualized code categories so that they might more usefully reveal what is happening in the situations under study. This process begins with the method of reduction.

The researcher reviews the code categories in an effort to discover "linkages." The effort here is to build groups of code categories into higher order categories. Clustering code categories is an important step in the discovery of "core variables," which help to explain the social scene.

The process of clustering code categories is primarily theoretical activity. But here again, as in every step in grounded research, clusters (or what Glaser and Strauss call core variables) must be referred back to the data of the study for verification. It is not enough that core variables be theoretically neat and conceptually tight; they must "fit" the data. In the present study it became possible to cluster codes under such broad headings as "managing time and information," "managing instruction," "maintaining discipline," and "equilibrium behavior."

At this point in the research process, investigators must move into the research literature. What is read and deemed important is guided by the cluster variables and, ultimately, by the coded data of the study. The purpose of a selective sampling of the literature is to find and draw understanding from pertinent theories in the social sciences. An attempt is made to find information in the literature which will "fit" the data and expand the researcher's understanding of the social scene under study.

As codes are successfully clustered into main concepts (core variables) and are enriched by insights found in the social science literature, it again becomes necessary to verify the findings through a disciplined return to the data. This might entail a return to the field, an exploration of protocols in new classrooms or an examination of data from other classroom studies. This process is called "theoretical sampling," because its purpose is to verify and advance the developing theory.

Theoretical sampling (also called selective sampling) is a deductive process. The conceptual framework which has been built from coding, clustering codes, and developing core variables is tested by collecting data which help confirm and deny its (the conceptual framework's) validity. Where problems are found, adjustments must be made, and further theoretical work must be undertaken. Portions of the theory may have to be discarded, and new ideas may need to be added. In all cases, however, changes must be checked against the original data and verified with further theoretical sampling.

Ultimately, the aim of this process is to develop core variables which explain all the relevant data under study. The variables "fit" the data and are "saturated" by it. They must not leave important activities unaccounted for.

At this point the researcher has a number of rather tight categories that make sense of large portions of the data and are supported by existing social scientific theory. What began as a fragmented mass of data is gathered together into a rather consistent and understandable theoretical form. But the theory construction is still loose. It is not unified around a single theme. In our research, for example, we were plagued with the question of how such teacher behaviors as managing time and information, instructing, orchestrating behavior, and disciplining were related to one another. We had to search for a tight, well-conceived, clearly verified, manageable theory which successfully tied these fragments together into a theoretical whole. We sought a theory that was convincing, consuming, useful, and could be verified by the teachers who had allowed us into their classrooms.

The Emergence of the Core Variable: The core variable which binds all codes and code clusters into a tight theoretical fabric emerges as the researcher discovers the basic social psychological problem confronting the actors in a social scene. The core category appears to explain all relevant actions, it reoccurs frequently and is found within all code clusters. As Glaser put it, basic social psychological processes "are fundamental patterned processes in the organization of social behaviors which occur over time and go on irrespective of the conditional variation of place." (Glaser, 1978, p. 100)

On the Significance of Context: An Introduction to Theory

As the researchers reviewed the protocols and developed substantive codes describing the activities of teachers, they were constantly reminded of the environments in which teaching typically takes place. As a grounded theory of teaching began to take shape, they became more fully aware of how "the conditions of teaching" help shape the activities of teachers and their sense of efficacy. These insights occurred at the end of the theory development process, but it seems appropriate to discuss them at the start of our report rather than at its conclusion. The last two chapters were devoted to this task. We will review a few salient points here. A description of the conditions of teaching will facilitate a better understanding of our theory of the teaching act.

Isolation

Teaching is an isolated profession. The physical structure of the school places teachers within assigned classrooms. The class schedule segments the teacher's day and minimizes the opportunity of peer interaction. The physical isolation of teachers is a structural manifestation of less tangible separations.

The responsibilities of teachers are highly compartmentalized. Teachers are responsible for organizing specified bodies of knowledge for teaching specified groups of students who come to class during specified hours of the day. Teachers carry out these duties with little or no peer interaction. Though a faculty shares a responsibility for the education of the student body, teachers carry out this responsibility sequentially rather than communally. As Dreeben (1970) has pointed out, the demands of teaching do not necessitate teacher collaboration.

> Compared to other occupations requiring coordinated collective efforts, as are found in certain types of industrial production and medical practice, teaching does not depend on the successful completion of specific prior contributions to a sequential effort; that is, few demands of the job encourage the cohesiveness and mutual dependence of the teaching force within the school. (p. 52)

Without professional collaboration there can be no empirically based and communally accepted professional standards of practice. Indeed, no such standards exist within education. There are some clearly defined behaviors that are expected of all teachers (viz.: that they maintain reasonable order in the classroom, that they do not assault community norms, that they get students to work, and so on), but such standards have more to do with the general decorum of the classroom than with teaching techniques or educational objectives.

Vulnerability

Isolation of teachers from their peers deprives them of the opportunity to see others at work and to develop a shared technical culture (Lortie, pp. 55-58; Dreeben, pp. 85, 99). The absence of professionally sanctioned goals and scientifically verified techniques leaves every teacher the primary judge of his or her own competence in the classroom. While this allows educators some degree of autonomy, it also leaves them vulnerable to self-doubt and arbitrary criticism. It deprives them of professional self-respect because they can never find objective verifications of their subjective assertions of competence. When plagued by self-doubt, classroom disruptions, student disinterest and/or parental complaints, teachers can find no convincing evidence of their on-going effectiveness. As Mary Metz has stated it (1978):

> Teachers have no way of checking on their students' memory of material even a year later, much less when they come to need it in the vicissitudes of adult life. Much learning is intended not as an end in itself but as a basis for developing broad capacities. It is expected that one develops a more logical mind from learning algebra or gains creativity from writing free-form poetry. But how can one assess such capacities reliably, let alone trace their origin? If education is supposed to impart strength of character or richness of personality, the problem of measurement defies description. (pp. 19-20)

Lortie has pointed out that "people in other lines of work also have occasion to doubt their personal efficacy and the value of the services they offer." However, the isolation of teachers and the lack of technical culture within the profession make them particularly vulnerable to the self doubt. Lortie (1975) explains:

> In fields where people perceive their knowledge (and their ignorance) as jointly shared, the individual burden is reduced. A person can take comfort from his compliance with normal expectations within the occupation; he can feel he did everything possible within "the state of the art." (Physicians so argue when they are charged with malpractice.) Then the individual can cope with unpleasant outcomes by sharing the weight of his failure and guilt; his inadequacy is part of the larger malignancy of the field. Teachers derive little consolation from this source; an individualistic conception of practice exacerbates the burden of failure. (p. 81)

Multiple Publics

Although it is true that teachers work behind closed classroom doors and out of view of other adults, it is also true that many people make judgments about a teacher's competence. Educators as a group are assaulted by the criticism of free-lance writers (Silberman), college presidents (Conant), disillusioned classroom teachers (Holt, Kozol), retired state superintendents (Rafferty), college professors (in numbers too numerous to enumerate) social critics (Goodman, Illich), and even a retired Navy admiral (Rickover). This criticism goes unanswered and assaults the image of the profession as a whole.

In addition to the sweeping criticisms leveled at the teaching profession, educators must face ongoing evaluations by students, parents, fellow teachers, administrators and, occasionally, the community at large. The judgments of students have an immediate and ongoing impact on the evaluations teachers make of their own professional competence. A teacher who continually fails to capture the interest of students, to motivate them to work, or to win their "respect" will experience a daily assault on his professional self-confidence. Even if the teacher successfully manages students, and motivates them to work, the educator must endure an ongoing conflict within her relationships with pupils. As Willard Waller stated a half-century ago:

> The teacher-pupil relationship is a form of institutionalized dominance and subordination. Teacher and pupil confront each other in the school with an original conflict of desires, and, however much that conflict may be reduced in amount or however much it may be hidden, it still remains. (1932, p. 195)

Parents, of course, make judgements about the adequacy of their children's instructors. Such judgments, by necessity, are made on the basis of secondhand information (the perceptions of the children, accounts of other parents, and parent-teacher conferences), and almost never from direct observation of the teaching act. Teachers can not be sure of what others are thinking about them. Even parents with major complaints may avoid sharing their dissatisfaction with the teacher for fear "she will take it out on my child."

Fellow teachers also make judgments about the competence of their colleagues, but only on rare occasions will they share their criticisms with the teacher in question. To challenge a fellow teacher is to risk that the challenge will be reciprocated. Thus, an ideology of non-interference develops in most schools that minimizes probing discussions of one another's teaching practices and that functions to heighten the professional isolation of teachers (McPherson, pp. 64-81).

Utopian Goals

Though the teaching profession has not developed consensual standards of practice against which to judge the performance of teachers, educators are treated to a litany of lofty objectives. The teachers in our study set these objectives for themselves:

> I think the most important objective is to reach students who seem unreachable, giving them a self-image [and] letting them know that each individual has his own worth in life.
>
> My major goal is to help [students] excel in academics.
>
> My most important objective is to get to know each student and to be highly organized as to planning.
>
> I want them to learn the material.
>
> To make students feel comfortable with themselves, to internalize the importance of learning.
>
> To impart concepts and skills, to be a friend, someone who understands them.
>
> To individualize instruction, to allow students to move at their own pace and to feel good about themselves.
>
> To help students see themselves as being worthy people. To give them the love they may not be getting at home.

While admirable, these goals are largely unattainable. No teacher is likely to get all her students to excel, to reach all her seemingly unreachable pupils, to motivate all children who come to school unmotivated, or to individualize the instruction of the 125 students she sees in a day. Nor is it likely that a teacher who faces 28 students for a 55-minute language arts class will give low self-esteem pupils positive self-concepts, provide love to those pupils whose "parents don't know how to love them," or to make everyone feel worthy, comfortable, and socially self-confident.

Because the objectives of teachers are utopian, educators are continually faced with the possibility that they cannot achieve the goals they have given themselves. However teachers might resolve this mismatch between their objectives and their achievements, the fact that a teacher's performance can never quite live up to her hopes must heighten the uncertainties endemic to teaching.

The Endemic Uncertainties of Teaching

The isolation of teachers, the absence of shared criteria of competence, the multiple publics they serve, and the mismatch between Utopian goals and modest achievement make teaching a chronically uncertain affair. Teachers encounter difficulty assessing the merit of their own work, because they seldom see others in action and cannot compare their own achievements with the accomplishments of their colleagues. It is difficult for teachers to know if they have obtained some self-proclaimed goal, because the goals they set for themselves are often unclear and unmeasurable. How is a teacher to know a student's self-concept has grown during a marking period, or if it has, whether she is responsible for its growth?

The Core Variable: Maintaining Professional Self Esteem

The major social-psychological problem facing teachers is the maintenance of professional self-esteem in a line of work that offers few supports for and myriad threats to the self-respect of its members. In the two previous chapters we have seen that the self-esteem of teachers is threatened by a number of factors, no one of which is necessarily debilitating, but, when added together, can challenge the professional confidence of even the most talented and self-assured individuals.

The Concept of Professional Self-Esteem

Professional self-esteem (or professional self-respect, we use these terms interchangeably in this report) refers to a person's feelings about his or her imagined appearance to others in work-related situations. A great deal is implied in this rather straightforward definition. A positive self-esteem is only achieved when we have the feeling that we are doing something worthwhile, that we do it competently though it taxes our ability (it isn't something just anyone can do), and that our abilities and achievements are recognized and appreciated by significant others. If any one of these elements is missing, our access to professional self-respect is jeopardized. As John Rawls (1971) explains:

> When we feel that our [work is] of little value, we cannot pursue [it] with pleasure or take delight in [its] execution. Nor plagued by failure and self-doubt can we continue in our endeavors. It is clear then why self-respect is a primary good. Without it nothing may seem worth doing, or if somethings have value for us; we lack the will to strive for them. All desire and activity becomes empty and vain, and we sink into apathy and cynicism.

Self-esteem is not something an individual can simply will for him or herself. Self-esteem is socially bestowed and socially maintained. Of course, individuals play a part in the social situations in which their self-esteem is established and/or affirmed, but their feelings of self-respect depend in large measure on how they are treated by others. Gerth and Mills (1953) explained:

> What we think of ourselves is decisively influenced by what others think of us. Their attitudes of approval and of disapproval guide us in learning to play the roles we are assigned or which we assume. By internalizing these attitudes of others toward us and our conduct, we not only gain new roles, but in time an image of ourselves. Of course, man's "looking glass" self may be a true or distorted reflection of his actual self. Yet those from whom a man continually seeks approval are important determinants of what kind of man he is becoming. The self, Henry Stack Sullivan once said, is made up of the reflected appraisals of others. (pp. 10-11)

The attitudes of others toward ourselves and our work are subject to personal interpretations which may or may not be accurate. Thus, individuals continually assess their performance by "taking the attitude of others" around them in an effort to view their own behavior as others might view it. Thus, as Cooley (1962) pointed out years ago, self-respect has three principal elements:

> The imagination of our appearance to the other person; the imagination of his judgment of that appearance, and some sort of self-feeling, such as pride or mortification. (p. 185)

We have been using such admittedly awkward phrases as professional self-esteem, professional self-respect, and a sense of professional competence because it is important to distinguish between the self-esteem of a teacher-as-teacher (derived from evaluations of the teacher's work performance) and accumulative self-esteem of a teacher-as-person (derived from the individual's total life experience). In order to study a person's cumulative self-esteem it would be necessary to investigate the psychology of the individual and uncover the ways in which the person's past experiences influence his or her present actions. Such a task is beyond the scope of this study and not relevant to the question being asked here. The task of the present research is to investigate the social, situational forces that work on all teachers in the schools we studied. For that reason our approach is sociological (or social-psychological) rather than psychological. We have sought to discover the factors within the professional lives of teachers that influence their behaviors, attitudes, motives, and feelings of professional self-respect.

Challenges to the Professional Self-Esteem of Teachers

We have already seen through an analysis of interview data that teachers have few institutional or interpersonal supports for the establishment and maintenance of professional self-esteem. In the past two chapters we have endeavored to show that teaching threatens an individual's self-respect because:

1. It is difficult for individual teachers to assess whether or not they are making a lasting or significant difference in the lives of their students.
2. Teachers do not share a technical culture against which individuals can assess the efficacy of their behavior or the extent of their professional competence.
3. Teachers are isolated from one another.
4. Teachers must live with the knowledge that their performance is being monitored by colleagues and that their peers' opinions regarding their professional competence will be based on incomplete, often second-hand knowledge.
5. The ideology of non-interference that governs the interpersonal relations among teachers makes it difficult for individuals to gather help or support from colleagues.
6. The profession receives little public recognition, social status, remuneration, or professional autonomy and thus engenders status anxiety in teachers who entered the profession expecting to enjoy all the perquisites of white-collar, solidly middle-class work.
7. Many teachers feel that they receive little support from administrators and are treated "unprofessionally" by those above them in the school system.
8. Many teachers have little say in the decisions that affect their work.
9. Teachers are barraged with criticisms of public schooling from the media, the public, and sometimes the parents of their students.
10. Many teachers suffer self-estrangement.

Teachers, like the rest of us, work to maintain self-esteem, but they must do so in a profession that engenders self-doubt, offers few measures of professional competence, provides scanty opportunity for peer evaluation and allows multiple publics to negatively evaluate an individual's performance on the basis of incomplete and indirect evidence.

The Student Audience

Deprived of a professional audience that will acknowledge competence and reward excellence, teachers must maintain their professional self-esteem by referring to the attitudes and behaviors of their students. A teacher's work is guided by the role expectations of his or her peers. (See the discussion of teacher role expectations in Chapter 7.) But teachers must gather evidence that they have met these expectations by observing the work of students, the behavior of students in class, the attitudes of pupils toward their work, and the attitudes of pupils toward the teacher. In a sense, then, students are a teacher's primary audience because only students provide the teacher with confirmation that he or she is playing the role of teacher competently.

All teachers we spoke with said they derived their greatest professional satisfaction from their students. One teacher told us that she knew she was a good teacher because:

> I feel comfortable in the classroom. I just feel I know what I'm doing. Many of my students. . . respond and I have a good relationship with many of [them]. The kids like me and I like them.

Another teacher told us that her greatest rewards in teaching came when she saw students excel and, just as importantly:

> When they show some appreciation. I got a letter from a former student indicating her appreciation for me. Those kinds of things help make it worthwhile.

A high school teacher said that students were the only reason he stayed in the profession:

> Oh, I enjoy the students, and I really enjoy [teaching them]. If I didn't, I'd quit. I don't think you could stand it if you didn't like [students and they didn't like you].

A teacher of honor students told us that she knew she was a good teacher because:

> I guess [my students] tell me. Not in so many words.

> but in a way they tell me so. For example,. . . juniors were planning a class trip,but students in my honors class insisted that it be on a Wednesday because that is the day our class doesn't meet. There was no way they wanted to miss my class. . . .
>
> Students who aren't doing well will sometimes drop [an elective course]. But my honors students [will stay in my class even when their grades are low] because they want to be there. . . . They figure that they're learning, and that's rewarding for me.

Three Domains of Teaching

An analysis of interview data revealed that the role expectations of teachers fell into three domains: classroom management, relationships with students, and instruction. An examination of ethnographic, classroom observation data (protocols) and the activities of teaching identified through open coding revealed that the same three domains dominate the activities of teaching. The first, classroom management, includes all teacher efforts to modify and/or punish inappropriate student behavior, to reinforce (reward) appropriate behavior, and to generally keep classroom activities running smoothly. The second domain, instruction, encompasses all activities intended to transmit knowledge to students, and to shape and sharpen their academic skills. The third domain, teacher-student relationships, includes all activities that encourage a friendly, person-to-person (rather than role-to-role) relationship between the teacher and individual students. The three domains of teacher behavior account for more than 90 percent of all the teacher activities identified through substantive coding.[1] All teachers we observed spent the vast majority of their time working in one or another of these three areas.

The three domains of teaching are conceptually distinct but usually become blurred on the level of practice. Teaching may go on during a friendly exchange with a student, an academic question during a class may be designed to punish a student for inattention, and a disciplinary act may prepare the way for an academic lesson or a better relationship with a pupil. Despite the overlapping of these three domains it is generally possible to determine the intent and immediate consequences of most teacher acts.

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[1] The other 10 percent of our codes referred to teacher activities that were instigated by some outside intrusion (a parent visiting a class, a fellow teacher entering the room, a message coming over the intercom, the ringing of a fire bell, and so on). Other activities could be classified under the heading "Buying Time." Buying time included all the makeshift activities that teachers devised either to free themselves from some teaching task (in order to correct papers, to rest, or gather their thoughts) or to artifically extend class activities to conform to the discipline of the school's bell schedule.

The Interactive Focus of Grounded Theory Research

It is not possible to build a grounded theory of teaching by looking solely at teacher attitudes or exclusively at student behaviors or scores on student achievement tests. Grounded theory methodology demands that we study the active process of teaching as it takes place within the environment of the classroom. We cannot focus exclusively on the teacher or students, but must focus instead on student-teacher interaction. We must seek the motivationally relevant structures that propel the actions of teachers in the social setting of the classroom (Schutz, 1970; Webb, 1976). Our focus is on the projects and motives of teachers. The qualitative nature of this portion of our study is compatible with Alfred Schutz's (1962) contention:

> That the social sciences have to deal with human conduct and its commonsense interpretation in social reality. [This task involves] the analysis of the whole system of [actors'] projects and motives. . . . Such an analysis refers by necessity to the subjective point of view, namely, to the interpretation of the action and its setting in terms of the actor. (p. 34)

Professional Self-Esteem and the Student Audience

As previously indicated, the major social-psychological problem confronting teachers is the construction and maintenance of professional self-esteem. This core variable must be understood in the context of Schutz's contention that we can accurately analyze human behavior only if we examine social situations from the point of view of the actors themselves. The grounded theory of teaching presented in this report contends that all teachers must find ways to maintain self-esteem in a profession that offers few concrete assurances that the teacher is competent, doing what needs to be done, and is making a difference in the academic and social growth of students. We contend further, that teachers are generally so uncertain about their professional competence that they must be constantly on the lookout for even small indicators of personal achievement. A high school teacher told us, "Even the smallest of accomplishments make me feel good." Usually these small accomplishments are found in the attitudes or achievements of individual students. For example, another high school teacher told us:

> The best thing is seeing even a little success. I can only remember one student who came back to thank me. . . . And that makes me feel good because

> at least one of the students heard what I was saying, thank goodness.

As we have already suggested, professional self-esteem is achieved and maintained when an individual does work that is challenging and personally satisfying, when an individual does that work well, and when significant others value the importance of the work and the accomplishments of the worker. The teachers we spoke with and observed in their classrooms contended that teaching was important and challenging work. However, they did not think that the public appreciated the difficulties that teachers face, the sacrifices the teachers make or the accomplishments they are able to achieve. They receive little or no positive feedback from parents, colleagues, or administrators. They receive little or no help when it is needed and almost no recognition or praise when it is deserved. They are aware that their colleagues expect them to conform to the criteria of the role expectations checklist. They know that failure to conform will invite a negative evaluation by their peers. They understand, however, that they will not be told if they are being evaluated negatively and that it is unlikely that colleagues or administrators will give positive suggestions on how they might improve their performance. They understand that careful conformity to the role expectations of their work is not the occasion for praise or recognition. Teachers can seldom tell if the silence of their peers is a sign of approval or disapproval. All of this is to say that teaching is a line of work (one among many in modern society, we suspect) that deprives even its accomplished participants of the requisite conditions for the development of professional self respect.

Teachers are sensitive to the "smallest accomplishments" and the "little successes" because they care about their work and want the reassurance that comes from knowing that they are doing their jobs well. Isolated from a community or network of collegial relations that affirms their professional achievements and self-worth, teachers must look to student attitudes, behaviors, and academic growth for small signs of achievement and appreciation.

Teachers have some measure of autonomy over classroom activity and work with students using a variety of approaches. However, they must continually monitor their classroom behavior to make sure that it conforms with the expectations of others. If teachers lose control of their classes, if they invite the hostility of students, if they fail to capture student interest, or if they earn the reputation of being "too easy" or "excessively tough" teachers risk the silent censure of their peers. If, on the other hand, teachers can manage the class well, if they are able to motivate students, if they win the good will of their pupils and keep them on task, then the teacher will observe at least some small signs of success and avoid getting a "bad reputation" in the school. It must be remembered, for teachers certainly remember, that students are carriers of information regarding teacher competence. So even when teachers are "playing to a student audience" they are, calculatedly or not, playing to an audience of their peers as well.

This was the point of the previously quoted teacher who said:

> I don't want anybody [saying] something bad about what happens in my class. I think that one thing keeps me on my toes more than anything else. . . .

It is little wonder that teachers generally prefer classes of high-achieving, motivated students. Such students are more likely than their low-achieving, less motivated classmates to make observable progress, to accept the expectations of the teacher and to demonstrate attentiveness and perhaps appreciation as well. Such students are more likely to provide self-assuring feedback to a teacher and to carry positive messages about the teacher's performance to other teachers in the school.

Defining the Situation and Achieving Self Respect

Defining the Situation

Human beings interact within situations that are circumscribed by time and space and saturated with meaning. Sometimes individuals must work to define the meaning of a situation, as may happen when two people unexpectedly bump into one another on a dark street late at night. More often, however, individuals interact within situations that are largely predefined by custom and culture, as is the case when, say, a judge and defendant interact in a courtroom setting. Individuals enter such situations knowing how they are expected to act toward others and how others are expected to act toward them. They share a common definition of the situation at hand. They know what the situation is about and what it demands of them. They know how each party is expected to behave and the attitudes each is expected to display. Society has provided if not a script for them to read, at least a pattern of behavior with which they are expected to conform. As long as they stay in pattern, that is, as long as they stay within their respective roles, the situation remains relatively unproblematical and the social play can proceed according to plan.

It would be a mistake, however, to define role-taking as a mere process of conformity. As Peter Berger (1963) has pointed out:

> It would be missing an essential aspect of the role if one regarded it as merely as a regulatory pattern for externally visible actions. Roles carry with them both certain actions and the emotions and attitudes that belong to these actions. The professor putting on an act that pretends to wisdom comes to feel wise. The preacher finds himself believing what he preaches.

We seldom merely play roles, we usually become the characters we play. This is especially true if an audience of other role players, dutifully playing their own assigned parts, believes our performance or at least takes our performance seriously enough to stay in their respective roles. Taking on a new role may be a bit awkward at first, but once we take hold of a role, it takes hold of us. We are able to play our part with unreflective conviction. In fact, the regulatory strength of a role is traceable to its habitual, unreflective and routine character (Berger, 1963, p. 97).

Most situations in everyday life are rather routine. They are familiar to us and the expected acts of others call out from us an expected response. Thus, Berger has defined role as a "typified response to a typified expectation" (1963, p. 95). When we play a role we know the pattern of behavior that is expected of us and we know what to expect of other role players. As Hewitt (1979) has pointed out, within routine situations:

> Things are in their [customary] places, the appropriate others are present. . .and much that happens requires little conscious control on the part of participants. One could almost describe such a situation as a chain of habitual responses. (p. 125)

Small breaches of etiquette, fits of bad temper, flights of fancy or acts of frenzy momentarily challenge the taken-for-granted routines of a situation and thus require our thoughtful attention. But in most instances the routine definitions of a situation are never seriously challenged. Social life is possible only because most of the time people interact within situations that they define in approximately similar ways. When actors hold common definitions of a situation, they can follow the lines of action appropriate to that definition. They understand their identity and the identity of other role players within the situation. When a situation is routine and well defined, the actors within the situation are also well defined.

A situation becomes problematic when its definition becomes unclear to the actors within it. Suppose, for example, an employee enters an office one morning to find his boss unusually abrupt and abrasive. He is unable to figure out "what's going on," which is to say, he does not know how to define the situation or his place within it. He can no longer assume that others see events as he sees them or that his perceptions are accurate (Schutz, 1971, pp. 3-47, McHugh, 1968). He must concentrate on events, objects in the office, conversations, gestures and acts in order to read the meaning of the situation. He must look for signs of how he and others are being defined, for when situations change, the situational identity of actors may change as well. He must become interested in the situational identity of his boss and the motives that underlie her behavior.

Let us consider the question of situation identity a bit closer. Of course, the troubled employee knows who his boss is--he knows her name, her status, her habit and quirks--in fact, he knows her well enough to know that her behavior is unusual and that she is irritable. He does not know why and that is the question he seeks to answer. He knows who his boss is, but he does not know in what capacity she is acting and what motivates her actions. Is she dissatisfied with his work or behavior, is she mad at him or her boss or her husband, or someone else entirely? When these questions are answered, he will better understand the situation at hand and the situational identity of his boss. He will know "where she is coming from," which is to say, he will understand what motivates her actions. And he will better understand his place in the situation and how he is being defined within it. As Anselm Strauss has put it, "' Who am I in this situation?' is problematic just as long as the situation is problematic." (p. 47)[1] Strauss quotes C. Wright Mills on the same point:

> The establishment of one's own identity to one's self is as important in interaction as to establish it for the other. One's own identity in a situation is not absolutely given but is more or less problematic. (p. 47)

The distinction between routine and problematic situations is simply this: When situations are routine, the actions and motivations of individuals are self-explanatory. Explanations for people's behavior exist, but as Strauss has put it, these explanations "have the status of assumptions rather than queries." (p. 48) In problematic situations, explanations of people's behavior are not clear and individuals must inquire into the motivations of actors and the meaning of their acts; an interpretation of events must occur and some acts of designation must occur as well. In routine situations the motives and situational identities of actors are presumed, in problematic situations the motives and situational identities of actors are uncertain.

Teachers as Definers of Classroom Situations

Teaching is the uncertain profession that it is because teachers must continually confront problematic situations. Every time a teacher issues a command, teaches a lesson or merely speaks before a class, that teacher's definition of the situation is put at risk. Students may ignore the teacher's comments or requests. They may talk back. They may show signs of apathy, boredom, frustration, contempt, or rage. They may miss the point of what is being said or be confused by what is being taught. Any one of these student responses (and myriad others we could mention) render the classroom situation problematic and with it the professed identity of the teacher as well. The claims of professional competence that a teacher makes by merely accepting the status of teacher are threatened when students fail to respond in accordance with the teacher's definition of the situation.

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[1] The analysis presented here borrows heavily on the work of Anselm Strauss, especially Chapter 5 in Mirrors and Masks.

Much of a teacher's time is spent trying to control or regain control of fast-changing situations and thus trying to maintain control of the definition of the self that the situations imply. Of course, a teacher who loses control of the definitions of classroom situations does not lose his status, he is still the teacher. But he may be defined by others (by students and ultimately by colleagues) as being an unresourceful, weak, or incompetent teacher. The more securely such negative identity labels are fixed to a particular teacher, the less likely it becomes that the teacher will be able to control the definitions of classroom situations in the future. The more negative the label the more difficult it becomes for the teacher to maintain his or her professional self-esteem. This explains why, as Willard Waller found in his 1932 study of teaching:

> Many teachers have learned that it pays to spare themselves no unpleasantness in order to establish and make secure their dominance in the first days and weeks of [the school year]. They exert themselves particularly to define the situation as one in which the teacher is dominant. Until that definition is accepted, there will be some conflict between teacher and student . . .the problem will be more severe in a school that has previously been poorly disciplined. Until his definition of the situation is thoroughly established in the minds of his students, the teacher cannot relax. (pp. 197-198)

There is no reason to believe that teachers are a unique breed of individual, hyperactively concerned with maintaining an image of competence around others. As Erving Goffman (1967) has amply demonstrated, individuals in all walks of American life are concerned with making a good showing in the presence of others. However, in most adult encounters, rules of considerateness and self-respect prevail. This means, according to Goffman, that individuals' claims of competence generally are allowed to go unchallenged and that participants in the situation are allowed to hang onto the individual identities they claim for themselves. "This kind of mutual acceptance," Goffman tells us, "seems to be a basic structure of social interaction. . ." (p. 11). Even when individuals don't believe someone else's presentation of self, they generally refrain from challenging what has been presented. When situations turn unexpectedly problematic, as might happen when someone commits a social gaffe, individuals generally feel beholden to lessen the situational embarrassment felt by all and help the offending individual regain his or her composure.

Teachers are as concerned as they are about their image of competence because that image is so often challenged by problematic situations. Students are not adults, and they have not yet internalized the rules that govern routine adult encounters. Adolescents in particular are more likely than grownups to declare that the emperor is naked, to challenge authority and to express emotions that most adults would judiciously suppress. As one teacher told us, "My biggest problem [is] kids not controlling their emotions. They are angry so they take out their anger on the teacher."

Teachers work to maintain control of classroom situations because, among other things, they wish to control their image of professional competence and sense of self-esteem. They get little support from their colleagues and administrators in this regard and must gather evidence of competence from their students. But students are only semi-socialized, and they are not always attentive to the legitimate ego needs of teachers. They frequently create problematic situations that teachers find taxing and sometimes threatening. Thus, as Waller has said, "The fundamental problem [facing the teacher] may be stated as the struggle of students and teachers to establish their own definitions of the situation in the life of the school " (p. 297).

The teacher-student struggle to maintain control over the definitions of the school situation can be seen in every domain of the teacher's work. It is most obviously apparent in classroom management situations, but it is present as well during periods of instruction or even during informal, teacher-pupil conversations. The primary social-psychological problem of the teacher in all three types of situations is to maintain the efficacy and legitimacy of his or her self-image of competence.

The teacher's feelings of emotional well being are tied to the responses of the classroom audience. If the students' responses sustain the identity that a teacher holds for himself (I am a competent teacher), events are routine and call out little feeling from the teacher. If the class goes well, responses of the students confirm an image of competence greater than a teacher claims for himself (I am better than I thought) and the situation is the occasion for "feeling good." If the class goes badly and does not fulfill even the routine expectations of the teacher (I am not as good as I thought), then the situation is rendered problematic, and we can expect that the teacher would "feel bad," feel hurt," or perhaps "get angry."

We can say that situations are non-problematic when they confirm the identity (image of competence) that teachers claim for themselves and that situations are problematic when they deny or contradict that self-claimed identity.

The remainder of this chapter will deal with each of the three domains of teaching. We will show how the core variable operates in each area and discuss how that variable (the maintenance of professional self-esteem) is related to the efficacy attitudes of teachers.

Classroom Management

The expectations that "good teachers" can control their classrooms is a prevailing norm in the culture of the school. It's a dominant feature in the role expectations that teachers hold for one another and for themselves. Of all the role inadequacies the teacher may possess, the failure to maintain order in the classroom is the most pervasive, public, and pernicious. Effective classroom management skills are central to the teaching task because poor discipline jeopardizes the teacher's ability to teach and to build productive relationships with students. News of a teacher's inability to maintain discipline spreads quickly among students and teachers alike. A reputation for "discipline problems" jeopardizes the teacher's image of competence among peers and invites further misbehavior from students. A previously quoted teacher put it succinctly when she said, "If you can't discipline, my dear, you can just hang it up."

The expectations that good teachers can control their classes is so taken for granted in the culture of most schools that simply accepting the status of teacher is tantamount to claiming, "I can keep students in order and on task." To step before a class is to ask students to accept the reality and warrant of this claim. Students are implicitly asked to believe that the instructor in fact possesses the management skills that are part and parcel of this projected role; that things are in reality what the teacher claims them to be. Teaching is difficult precisely because students do not always accept the reality of such claims as readily as most teachers would like.[2]

When students accept and acknowledge the legitimacy of the teacher's role and the teacher's ability to fulfill that role, the classroom situation is routine and the teacher's situational identity is secure. When students fail to verify the teacher's claims of competence, the situation is rendered problematic and the teacher's situational identity is in jeopardy. The line of teacher activity that expresses his or her definition of the situation (and his or her self definition as well) is out of sync with the students' definition of the same situation. The teacher is not "living up to" the expectations of his or her status and this is the occasion for subjective concern. Goffman (1967) describes what occurs when an audience does not confirm the identity an individual claims for himself:

> He is likely to feel ashamed and inferior because of what has happened to the activity on his account and because of what may happen to his reputation. . . .

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[2] There are a number of social-psychological reasons why students might challenge the status claims of teachers. However, a discussion of these reasons would divert us from the topic at hand. We have included a brief discussion of the factors that influence social control in school settings in Appendix U at the end of this report.

> Further, he may feel bad because he has relied upon the encounter to support an image of self to which he has become emotionally attached and which he now finds threatened. Felt lack of judgmental support from the encounter may take him aback, confuse him, and momentarily incapacitate him as an interactant. His manner and bearing may falter, collapse, and crumble. He may become ashamed and chagrined; he may become shamefaced. (p. 8)

An incident in a high school class provides an example of how deeply a teacher may feel embarrassed when he or she is not able to control a class. What follows is a condensed and paraphrased description drawn from field notes:

> From the moment the bell rang the teacher had trouble getting the attention of the class and getting the lesson under way. A number of students asked permission to leave the room and finally the teacher announced, "No one is going to leave, so don't ask." Some students continued to make such requests and others slipped out of the classroom door when the teacher's head was turned. The class grew noisy and few students paid attention to the lesson being presented at the board.
>
> Students called an end to the class ten minutes before the bell rang. They left their seats, ignored the teacher and milled around the room. The teacher had to stop teaching because she had lost her audience. She exclaimed in frustration, "I don't know why you come here if you don't want to listen." No one appeared to hear her comment. Two students began to argue,and one of them called on the teacher for help. She responded sarcastically, "I wish you'd all kill each other and get it over with."
>
> When the bell rang the remaining pupils sprang for the door and the teacher made her way to the corner where a member of the research team was taking notes. The researcher described their exchange in her field notes: "She is very frustrated and said she didn't want me to observe any more this year. . . . She said it makes her nervous . . .and she is already nervous enough. She seems depressed."

An image of competence is assumed by the teacher in the very act of teaching, but if that image is to be maintained its validity must be affirmed in the attitudes and actions of the student audience. When the image is not affirmed, the teacher is likely to feel embarrassed and perhaps nervous and depressed. Such was the case in the incident described above. She was embarrassed by what had occurred and did not want the researcher (or any other adult, for that matter) to witness any further humiliation she might have to endure in her class.

When teachers are able to command the attention of students, they are likely to take pride in this skill and look for occasions to demonstrate their ability to others. For example, a veteran teacher told us:

> I used to love it when kids were being rowdy during an assembly and other teachers couldn't control the situation. I'd step in and with a few words and a stern look I'd get things back in order. I was showing off, of course, but it was a good feeling, nonetheless.

Substantive coding of protocol data indicated that teachers behaved in different ways depending on whether or not they perceived the situation as routine or problematic. As we have already explained routine situations are those where teachers and students appear to share the same definition of the situation. Problematic situations exist when the teacher perceives that he or she is losing (or is in threat of losing) control over the situation. We will be discussing these two domains of classroom management separately, but it must be kept in mind that these two types of situations represent points along a continuum and not wholly separate entities. There is no fixed point at which a routine situation is rendered problematic. What one teacher may define as harmless, another teacher may experience as deeply troubling. We are interested here in the general differences that exist between routine and problematic situations and the bearing different situations may have on the question of efficacy.

Classroom Management Within Routine Situations

Some conflict theorists would argue that there are no routine situations in classrooms because, as Willard Waller stressed, the "teacher and pupil confront each other. . .with an original conflict of desires, and however much that conflict may be reduced in amount, or however much it may be hidden, it still remains." (p. 195)

Most teachers would agree that students do not necessarily want to do all that teachers would have them do and that education always implies differences of perspective and a certain conflict of wills. However, all teachers we spoke with reported that some time in their teaching career they had had classes in which such conflicts were subdued if not eliminated altogether. When we asked teachers to describe such experience, they told us of classes where the teacher and students shared (or came to share) the same definition of the classroom situation:

> The students were motivated. What made it special was the cohesiveness in the class.
>
> I thoroughly enjoyed [the students in the class] because they were so curious and eager and felt cheated if I didn't challenge them. If I gave a test and there wasn't a trick question on it, they felt disappointed. I enjoyed that so much.
>
> There was an esprit de corps among students. Some of the material was not familiar [to me] so I was learning along with the youngsters. I had to use my imagination and creativity. I came up with a lot of creative ideas.
>
> I got along really well with all those students. They were fairly positive toward school. They were fairly positive about math, as well. You are always going to have a few [students who] are rather negative about school, but 80 to 90 percent of that class was pro-school. And I think they liked me.
>
> They were bright, intelligent, and they made an effort. Everything about them was good.
>
> The students were highly motivated, self-disciplined, interested. They wanted to learn. They were creative. They gave me great feedback. I would give them home work,and it would come back. You could send progress reports home and you knew their parents would get them.

The best teaching situation, according to the teachers we interviewed, were those where there was a cohesiveness that held the class together. Cohesiveness is displayed when students have a shared interest in the material being presented and the teacher who presents it. They are individually and collectively motivated to master that material. Everyone is engaged in the work of the class. Teachers are pushed to design original and creative lessons,and students are pushed to master those lessons. There is also a mutual recognition of teacher and student success.

It would appear that the "ideal teaching situation" is one that provides the teacher and student alike with the conditions Rawls claimed are necessary for self-respect. (See pages 238 and 239 in this report for discussion of self-respect.) It would further appear that classroom management is not problematic when the self-respect needs of both teachers and students are being met in the social environment of the class.

Most teachers carry with them a vision of the ideal teaching situation and that vision is based in a large degree on their own best teaching experiences. The reality of everyday classroom life, however, seldom lives up to the promises of the teachers' ideals. Within most teaching situations teachers must work diligently to keep some control of events and the prevailing definition of those events. If we judge from teachers' desciptions of their best teaching experiences, we would have to conclude that the real challenge facing teachers has less to do with controlling the behavior of students than it does with winning their minds. Students who come to believe in what the teacher is doing and to see the teacher's role as legitimate are unlikely to cause problems in the classroom. On the other hand, students who see little worth in what's going on and do not honor the teacher's role are likely to be frequent causes of disruption. Few teachers win over all the students in a class,just as few teachers lose control of the class completely. Most teachers, certainly all we observed, were continually working with those students who, for the moment at least, were apparent believers in the classroom enterprise and were riding herd on those students who were not. As long as no student behavior openly challenged the teacher's definition of the situation (which, of course, included the assumption of the teacher's authority in the classroom) events within the class did not become particularly problematic. The teacher had to stay vigilant to insure that events did not get out of hand (out of the teacher's control). Teacher vigilance took the form of behaviors we have labelled accounting, directing, monitoring, and quieting. We will discuss these processes individually.

1. Accounting is the process by which teachers keep track of the location of their students in the sense of their physical location (knowing the physical whereabouts of their students) and in the sense of academic activity (monitoring the students' skills, progress, and present activities). Much of the teacher's time is spent accounting for the physical and academic whereabouts of their students. Accounting for the physical whereabouts of students entails calling roll, monitoring the comings and goings of students, and generally keeping students in view. Accounting for the academic location of students entails such activities as collecting papers, recording grades, keeping students on task, and charting students' progress over time.

Accounting behavior has both manifest and latent functions within the classroom. The manifest function is to allow the teachers to keep track of their students and thus be able to help them and, when needed, to manage or control them. The latent function of accounting is to reinforce the expectation that the teacher is—and should be—in control of classroom events. If teachers can continually account for their students, it is easier to hold students accountable for their acts. Perhaps the latent functions of accounting are more important than the manifest functions, for teachers who are unable to legitimate their managerial role for students have little hope of controlling their students' behavior.

2. Directing is the process teachers use to tell students what they should be doing during routine classroom events. It is a taken-for-granted assumption within most classrooms that the teacher has things for students to do and will let students know what is to be done, how it is

to be done and when it is to be done. A tabulation of protocol data reveals that teachers instigate, direct, and monitor a vast array of student activities as the following excerpts from field notes reveal:

> The teacher says to the class, "Students who need to go to the library should go now. I'm waiting for. . .you to get going [so the rest of us] can start our work."
>
> The teacher turns to say, "You have your assignment; let's get busy!" The teacher asks Waldo to pass out [additional] work sheets.
>
> The teacher says, "O.K., let's look at the board. Tom, will you read the first [sentence]."
>
> The teacher tells the class, "Get out your paper and begin to write. I don't want to take [away] any of [your] yearbooks, so don't read them now."
>
> The teachers says, "When you're finished [correcting] the paper, return it to the owner."
>
> The teacher directs the class to put their chairs up on the desk.
>
> The teacher says to three students, "Look at me. Before you leave I want you to [clean your desk]."
>
> The teacher tells Tom, "Go to the shelf and get a book, but please don't talk, O.K.?"
>
> Willie is a short fellow. He gets up to get an activity out of a packet the teacher has posted on the back wall. It is too high for him to reach so he jumps for the packet and almost knocks down a sign. . . . The teacher tells him to get a chair. . . .
>
> The teacher says, "People, listen carefully. The test will be timed for 25 minutes. We'll grade it [when you're through]. Those encyclopedias need to be put up."
>
> "Kids, it's time to start cleaning up. . . ." The teacher gives directions about which group of students should be cleaning up the room and work areas. Everyone is instructed to put their chairs back under the tables.

Every teacher in our study gave frequent directions to students. Instructions were issued with the unambiguous expectation of pupil compliance. Students were expected to do as they were told, to acknowledge (or at least not publicly challenge) the teacher's right to issue directions. They were expected to see the teacher's directions as reasonable and legitimate. As long as the expectations were not publicly violated, the classroom situation remained non-problematic. Giving directions gave students things to do and keeping students busy lessened the chances of student misbehavior. It helped define the classroom situation as being in the teacher's control.

3. Once directions have been given, the teacher must monitor the class to see that his or her directions are being carried out. The monitoring process helps keep students on task. It also serves to define the limits of acceptable behavior and reinforces the teacher's control over classroom activities. One teacher who is proud of her management skills explained that close supervision of students helped them to:

> know what to expect from me. They know what I'll put up with and what I won't. . . . They know what's expected of them. [Thus] very, very few times have they ever come close to going over the line.

Monitoring student behavior helps a teacher control the definition of the situation. It also helps the teacher avoid potential trouble; to keep routine situations from becoming unexpectedly problematic. The monitoring of classroom noise serves both these functions. Teachers frequently establish their control of the class by quieting students at the start of the period. Some examples:

> "Good afternoon, sit in your seats. . .let's settle down. Everybody get quiet."
>
> The bell rings indicating the class has begun. The teacher says, "All right, let's get started."
>
> The teacher is standing at the front of the room. She says, "I see some of you aren't listening. You should be taking out your work, so let's do that."
>
> The teacher begins the class by reading from a [student's] paper. . . . As she does so, two boys are shifting their feet and being mildly noisy. The teacher says, "Excuse me," and looks in their direction. The noise stops.
>
> The bell has rung and students are sitting in their seats talking in normal conversational tones. The teacher walks in and says, "Hey, guys, there's too much noise." She goes to her desk and flips through some papers.

Once the class has begun, teachers monitor student behavior and quiet pupils who are making too much noise. By doing so they encourage attentiveness to the lesson and reinforce control of the situation by insuring that student behavior never gets "out of hand." Some examples from field notes:

> Edwin comes into class wearing dangling type bracelets, gives a message to the teacher and then walks toward his seat. Alva says, "Stop rattling those bracelets, boy." The teacher says, "Edwin, I'll have to send you out if you don't get quiet."
>
> The teacher calls Sam's name indicating that he should be quiet.
>
> The teacher asks a student a question and then says, "Shhh," to the class as she waits for an answer.
>
> The teacher says, "Frankie, let's get quiet."
>
> Two students are talking about perfume. The teacher interrupts, "Come on, let's not worry about those smells. Let's get to work."
>
> The teacher says to the class, "You can't all talk this much in the library."
>
> The teacher says to the students, "I'm going to have to be a little bossy now." Referring to one student who is talking, the teacher says, "You're going to miss this because you're being noisy."

4. Teachers do a lot of quieting during a typical class period and must take care that their efforts to quiet individual class members do not disturb the attention of other students. Thus, we frequently found teachers in routine situations quieting students with the force of a look, a signal, or, in some instances, by falling silent half way through a thought. Some examples from field notes:

> The teacher starts to talk to the class [but stops in mid-sentence and] waits. Her silence and look indicate her disapproval of the noise.
>
> A student says something the teacher is unable to hear. A number of students are yelling. The teacher says [in a voice loud enough for the class to hear] "I'm sorry, I couldn't hear you."

> The teacher stops talking and says to a student, "I'll wait for you to finish your comments."

Quieting is a recurring activity throughout the class period. Every teacher has a noise threshold that registers when students become too obstreperous. The level of acceptable noise varies from teacher to teacher and from activity to activity, class to class, and even from moment to moment. Teachers may accept little noise at the beginning of the class but more noise at the end. They may accept no talking during a test, a little more during seatwork and a good deal more during discussion activities.

The monitoring of classroom noise is part of the teacher's effort to maintain his or her own definition of the situation. Teachers will usually tolerate noise resulting from student enthusiasm for some academic task. Noise generated by a science project, play, debate, or classroom discussion is generally accepted as long as it does not "get out of hand." If the noise goes beyond "tolerable limits," the teacher will usually quiet the class with a gentle comment.

> O.K., let's quiet down now.
>
> Shush. Let's keep quiet so we can hear what Janel has to say.

Noise which results from clowning, off-task behavior, or classroom rowdiness is dealt with more sternly.

> Class, that is enough! I'm not going to have this much noise in here now. You can quiet down this minute or we can complete this work during lunch.

It appears that it is not noise per se which governs a teacher's response to student talk, but rather the meaning that the noise holds for the teacher. Noise can be a sign of student enthusiasm for an academic task, but it can also be a sign that students are forgetting or directly challenging the teacher's definition of the classroom situation. In the latter cases student noise carries the suggestion that the teacher is not in control of the class, and the classroom situation is thus problematic.

Managing student behavior by accounting, directing, and monitoring is a means of keeping routine classroom situations from becoming problematic. Being a good classroom manager is the primary method teachers have of creating and sustaining their own definitions of the classroom situation. It is also the primary way that teachers have to demonstrate their competence to colleagues, students, and ultimately to themselves.

Avoidance Tactics

The teachers we interviewed and observed indicated that good classroom management is as much a matter of anticipating problematic situations before they occur (and thus avoiding them) as it is a matter of settling problems that have already taken place. The strategies of avoidance in routine situations will be discussed under the headings Anticipating and Diverting.

1. Anticipating entails an evaluation of events that determines what behaviors are most likely to contribute to keeping routine situations from becoming problematic. Even taken-for-granted activities such as leaving the classroom to visit the lavatory must be evaluated to see if the teacher's absence will invite trouble in the class. As one high school teacher explained:

> A really good teacher wouldn't leave the class unless it was absolutely necessary. I have to choose the time and the class [when it is safe for me to leave the room] before I can go to the restroom. I will say to the kids, "Look. . . I've got to leave, is that all right?" If I get the feeling that they're going to be fine, I'll give them something to do—and not necessarily busy work. . ., something important—and then I'll leave.

Another teacher said that administrators at his school do not understand how carefully he must calculate whether it is safe to leave the classroom between class period.

> The administrator says, "If you've got to go to the bathroom, it's OK for you to leave the class." But I know it's not OK. If you leave, you risk coming back to a classroom that's in chaos.

Anticipating problematic situations allows teachers to avoid confrontrations that might cause them to lose control of classroom events. A high school teacher makes this point dramatically:

> I'm just saying that when you have a black student who you know has hit somebody over the head with a baseball bat [and] set somebody's hair on fire; and you have a couple of [white] kids who are rednecks, you aren't going to be able to leave that classroom. It's a tinder box.

2. Diverting occurs when a teacher acts to physically or mentally move a student away from situations that invite misbehavior and that might demand a disciplinary response from the teacher. Some examples of diverting behavior:

> A middle school language arts teacher surveys the classroom and says to a student, "You're going to get into trouble back there, so please move up [to the front of the room]."
>
> [A middle school teacher has been having trouble keeping Tommy quiet and on task. She has asked him repeatedly to lower his voice but Tommy's behavior hasn't changed.] There are three students at the front desk talking with the teacher. Tommy leaves the teacher's desk and goes to the side table. He is talking [again] as he walks. The teacher looks over at him and says softly, "Tommy, you're loud." Tommy continues talking. The teacher gets up [from her desk] saying, "Tommy, come here." Her voice is soft and unthreatening. She takes Tommy to a side table and [gives him instructions] in how to use a controlled reader.

In the second case the diverting tactic was successful. The teacher's tactic was to give Tommy a task that would hold his interest and quiet him down. She conspicuously avoided chastising him for his inattention and loud behavior. As she explained to a classroom observer, "The more forceful I become the worse [the behavior] gets. If I can stay calm, the kids will stay calm."

Diverting techniques are sometimes used to keep students from getting into conflicts with fellow students; conflicts that the teacher may have to resolve. Two examples from field notes:

> Tom is having words with a student on the other side of the classroom. He is angry, gets up from his desk and walks toward his foe. The teacher is watching from her desk and says, "Tom, while you're up will you please bring me the dictionary?"
>
> Alvin [a middle school student] is playing with a cigarette lighter. He sets his quiz paper on fire and quickly blows it out. The teacher stares . . . at him but says nothing. I can't be sure if she saw him set fire to the paper. The teacher says [to the class], "OK, how about if the first person in each row--for example, Betty in the case of this row--picks up the [quiz] papers in numerical order. . . ."
>
> Students are up and moving around within a second of the teacher's orders. Alvin calls out, "Hey, first person, [he's talking to Betty] collect my paper; collect my paper, you wimp!" The teacher tells Alvin to bring his paper up to her desk [and he responds] "God, she was supposed to pick it up!" He gets up and brings his paper [to the teacher].

In both of the above incidents the teacher surveyed the situation, determined it to be potentially problematic and worked quickly to divert students away from probable trouble. By keeping students out of trouble, the teachers were able to keep themselves out of trouble as well. A battle which is not fought is a battle which cannot be lost.

Most situations fall far short of the teacher's notion of the ideal teaching experience. Our classroom observations would suggest that students do not often share the teacher's objectives and role commitments, certainly not to the degree that the teacher would like. Thus even routine situations are seldom solidly unproblematic. An unexpected turn of events may change the classroom climate considerably. If teachers do not remain ever vigilant—if they fail to anticipate problems before they occur, or handle problems quickly when they do occur—teachers lose control of the classroom situation. Every loss of control makes it likely that the teacher's definition of the situation will be challenged more often in the future. The more often situations in which the teacher is unable to manage classroom events occur, the more difficult it becomes for the teacher to teach and for the teacher to maintain the image of competence that is being claimed when taking the role of teacher. Accounting, directing, monitoring, anticipating, and diverting are all means of maintaining the equilibrium of non-problematic situations. We turn now to the question of classroom management in problematic situations.

Classroom Management in Problematic Situations

Classroom events can be viewed as a mass of fast-changing situations, each one of which must be defined by participants. When teachers and students define situations in a like manner, individual behavior stays recognizably close to role expectations, identities are defined by the roles individuals play, and events proceed on generally predictable course. When the definition of a routine situation is challenged by the expressed attitudes and/or overt behaviors of students, the situation is rendered problematic and the dignity and public image of the teacher is put in jeopardy.

Most teachers try to control the meaning of classroom situations by controlling the behaviors of students. "I don't want [students] talking at the same time that I'm talking," explained a middle school teacher. "If I tell them to do something, I want them to do it." When students do as they're told they confirm the roles of the teacher and their at least outward acceptance of the teacher's performance. When they disobey the teacher they deny the confirmation of competence that is implied in students' acts of obedience. Thus, from the teacher's perspective:

> A lot of [student misbehavior] has to do with just not acknowledging that I am the teacher and you are the student. That's [what I mean by] respect. I am older. I know a little more than you do. . . . That's what I expect; respect in the sense that

> when I'm talking, you listen and when I
> want you to do something, you do it --
> as long as it's right. Hopefully,
> I'll never tell them to do something that's wrong.

Respect is a key word in the vocabulary of teachers. When students do not show the teacher proper respect, they challenge the teacher's competence to play the teacher role. They do not acknowledge "that I am the teacher and you are the student." The teacher's professional self image rests on just such an acknowledgment. Thus, the more overt or serious the student's challenge to the situational status quo, the more threatening it is likely to be to the teacher. Unintentional violations of class rules are less problematic than intentional ones; secretive violations are less problematic than public ones, and occasional violations less problematic than frequent ones.

Teachers gauge the severity of a rule violation according to the threat it poses to their professional self esteem. Such calculations are more emotional than cognitive. Major threats will have greater emotional impact than will minor disruptions. Thus, the responses of teachers to problematic situations vary widely. We will begin a discussion of the strategies teachers use in problematic situations by first examining events that threaten a teacher's professional esteem in a minor way and then examining by gradual degrees more threatening situations.

1. Ignoring. Teachers often ignore minor infractions of class rule, especially if such infractions do not disrupt the class and thereby challenge the teacher's definition of the situation. For example, in a class where a student was giving a report the teacher ignored the fact that five pupils had their heads on their desks and were not participating in class discussions.

We observed over 250 instances of ignoring in our classroom observations. It was by far the most frequently coded item in our protocols. Usually these incidences involved the teacher ignoring student inattention, low levels of classroom noise, the passing of notes or other such nondisruptive and nonthreatening events.

Teachers will seldom ignore a student talking back or showing disrespect. However, such occasions may be ignored if they are quickly followed by signs of student acquiescence. An example from field notes:

> The teacher tells Eddie, a white male, "Keep your hands to yourself." I cannot hear his response, but it was evidently non-conciliatory because she [the teacher] asks if he wants to work outside the room. He gives another response (again I can't hear) and she repeats her previous statement. He says, "I wasn't talking to you," and then he gets quiet.

In this case the teacher did not need to chastise the student for his disrespectful reply because she had already established her dominance in the situation. The boy had stopped bothering his neighbor and fell silent, after one last and uneventful barb was tossed in the teacher's direction.

In some situations teachers ignore student misbehavior as an avoidance tactic, as a means for staying clear of people or events that could prove threatening to their self esteem. For example, one day toward the end of the year a movie was shown to students as a reward for bringing back library books on time. A teacher walked her class to the auditorium where perhaps 250 students waited excitedly for the movie to begin. When the lights dimmed, the noise level grew deafening, and students began throwing paper airplanes and rough-housing and generally raising Cain. The school's P.E. teacher called for quiet, but his requests were only momentarily respected. The female teacher left the auditorium. She explained to an observer that such situations were chaotic and that she wasn't going to stay around to watch "the circus." By leaving the situation she freed herself from the responsibility for maintaining order and protected herself against the probability that she would fail.

Similar situations were observed in classrooms. Teachers would sometimes leave a hostile (or potentially hostile) student alone and thereby avoid unnecessary confrontations. A case in point:

> Edwin walks into the class late. He is very angry, lips protruding, frowning. The teacher smiles and says, "Well, good morning, stranger." Edwin does not respond. Still frowning, he hands the teacher a tardy slip and sits down. The teacher looks at the slip for a second and says, "All right, just give me a couple of minutes and I'll get with you and get you started." The rest of the class is doing seat work, and the teacher is giving individual help to students who ask for it. Ten minutes later the teacher asks Betty to, "get all the papers [for this assignment] and give them to Edwin." The teacher looks at Edwin and asks, "Do you have a pen or pencil?" He shakes his head indicating that he doesn't. The teacher says, "Well, then, can you give me a dime so I can sell you a pencil and get you started?" Edwin doesn't respond and still looks upset. The teacher turns and goes back to working with Emma. Twenty-five minutes later the teacher hadn't talked with Edwin again.

On occasion, teachers are aware that students have challenged the teacher's definition of the situation but choose not to respond to that challenge because to do so would invite further problems with the student. According to the teacher's calculations more is likely to be lost in this situation than is to be gained. Such challenges from students can go unheeded if they are not dramatic or public. Some examples:

> The teacher is asking students questions about vocabulary words. Half way through the exercise

> the teacher asks a question,and Bill raises his hand to answer. Sally calls out the answer. Bill registers his discontent with the way the class is being run by saying, "I'm sick of this." The teacher looks at Bill in discouragement but continues to teach the lesson.
>
> A student is giving reports at the front of the class. In the middle of Betty's report Alva says, "Mrs. Jones, your shoes are freaky." The class is restless,and the teacher ignores the comment.
>
> During a reading lesson the students have taken turns reading a short story. The teacher says, "We have enjoyed reading this. Now let's learn from it." She asks the class a question, and Tom calls out sarcastically, "Your guess is as good as mine." The teacher ignores his comment and says, "Which of you is sharp enough to hear the poetic devices used most [in this story]?"

In some cases ignoring is not so much a device for avoiding trouble as it is a method of cutting one's losses. If a teacher has great difficulty controlling the class, if students are in open and continual rebellion against her claims to authority, she may shy away from trying to gain control of the situation for fear that her efforts will invite students to defy her requests and thus further the teacher's humiliation. An example:

> The class has ended as far as instruction is concerned. The teacher has disontinued the lesson and is talking with John and Kim. The class is becoming somewhat chaotic. Bill and Amy are chasing each other around the class. Edward is spraying a wall poster with a bottle of tile cleaner he has snuck out of the teacher's filing cabinet. He moves to the classroom doorway and begins to spray passersby. Bill grabs his crotch and shouts, "Amy stop grabbing my dick." Sally and Amy are now chasing Bill, grabbing him between the legs. Finally Bill runs up to the teacher shouting, "Watch Amy, she's grabbing for my nuts." Only then does the teacher acknowledge what is going on. She turns to Amy and says, "Stop that. Act like a lady." The teacher moves to the front of the room while Bill, Sally, and Betsy scramble around the class. . . .

All teachers ignore some student misbehavior. They do so as a strategic device designed to keep the class running smoothly, to avoid diverting student attention from the task at hand and to avoid unnecessary risks to their "good teacher" image. Classroom events happen quickly and teachers must observe what's going on around them and calculate what is likely to occur from one moment to the next. Under conditions of uncertainty and risk teachers must almost pre-reflectively calculate which courses of action will maximize their control of the situation and minimize their risks of losing control. Central in this decision-making process is the unstated but deeply felt assumption that teachers must protect their fragile image of professional competence.

A teacher who has a history of good discipline in her class can afford to ignore some student misbehavior simply by pretending she is unaware of the transgression. We seldom saw teachers who had reputations for being "good classroom managers" ignore student misbehavior when it was obvious to the class that a transgression had occurred and that the teacher was aware of its occurrence. Occasionally good disciplinarians pretended not to see an event and, by so doing, freed themselves from the role obligations to act. Such strategic moves helped teachers avoid conflicts with the students and helped protect their image of competence.

Teachers who had a reputation for being poor classroom managers and who had little or no control of classroom events frequently ignored student challenges, insults, and rowdiness. Once classroom situations had gotten out of hand, such teachers apparently felt that they could not afford the backlash that would result from "taking a stand." To challenge a student for misbehavior would guarantee a confrontation which the teacher knew would escalate. While the teacher might win the confrontation, his already bruised image of competence would be further battered in the battle. As one teacher with grave discipline problems explains, "I certainly wouldn't demean myself to enter a feuding situation with a kid." Ignoring was a common strategy for the teacher. It was a strategic move calculated to cut his losses and protect him from further humiliation.

2. When students misbehave teachers will often handle the situation by telling the offending student what he or she should be doing:

> Betty, I'd like you to be in your seat.
>
> Tommy, you should not be talking. You should be doing your work.
>
> The bell has not yet rung. No one should be leaving their seats.

Students usually stop misbehaving when teachers call on them by name in a quiet, firm, but non-threatening tone.

3. A few teachers gave directions and followed their behavior requests with a brief statement explaining why compliance with the request

was important:

> The teacher responds to a student who is acting up. "O.K., Robbie, why don't you turn around, please. It might be easier for you if you paid attention." There is no hint of sarcasm or displeasure in the teacher's voice.
>
> The teacher is giving instructions. "Now, listen, because some people in the last period didn't listen and did more work than they had to. Since there is already a lot of work, you don't want to do more than you have to."
>
> I intend to be flexible but during your life you have to learn to be on time. You will be penalized [for being late]. There's nothing else I can do.
>
> The teacher turns to a student who has been somewhat off task and tells him sternly that she wants him to move becuase he is missing out on too much.

Explanations following a teacher request may serve to legitimate the teacher's directions and diffuse the conflict that such directions might otherwise have caused.

4. Some teachers, though a minority of the teachers we observed, personalized their directions to students. Such teachers attempted to trigger in their students sympathy, loyalty, and perhaps guilt in order to change student behavior.

> The teacher is lecturing and the students are talking. The teacher says, "How do you think this makes me feel? It sort of hurts my feelings. It makes me feel that what I'm saying is going in one ear and out the other."
>
> I hope you'll all be alert on Wednesday. It hurts my feelings when you don't. We're going to have a test tomorrow. When I have to [give] a lot of zeros, it makes me feel real bad. If you fail tomorrow, I'll be very displeased with you.
>
> A female student asks if the teacher will let the class turn in information they have copied from a book. The teacher answered emphatically, "No, I will not." She explains that she wouldn't allow [them to copy] because she cares about them and what they learned. Therefore, she would not let them plagiarize.

5. When student misbehavior is annoying to teachers, they will frequently communicate their displeasure to students as they issue

directions to their misbehaving pupils. In such cases the teacher's message is intended not merely to end the misbehavior but to mildly punish it as well. Some examples:

> Emile is told, "Keep you hands to yourself."
>
> Most students are on task, but a few are fooling around. "Henry," the teacher asks rhetorically, "are you working on your project or just clowning?"
>
> Teacher tells Art [in a harsh tone] to "turn around."
>
> Wait a second, guys. Either you control yourselves or I'll control your behavior for you.
>
> "Donald, where is your book?" Donald holds up his book and the teacher commands, "Well, open it."

Even mild messages of annoyance may have an impact on students because such messages are delivered in public. By correcting a student's misbehavior and by doing so with annoyance, the entire class is attracted to the transgression and alerted to the teacher's displeasure.

6. When misbehavior begins to threaten the teacher's control over the definition of the classroom situation and thus threatens the teacher's situational identity, the teacher's reaction to the misbehavior is likely to become more emotional. In such situations teachers often warn students that continued misbehavior will have specific and unpleasant consequences. For example, one teacher warned a misbehaving student that he would be kept after class if he didn't stop bothering his neighbor and get to work on his assigned project:

> "Charlie, would you like to do this assignment during the first five minutes of lunch time?" Charlie answers quickly, "No." The teacher then says, "Well, please be quiet."

In another classroom a student adjusted a fan so the air would come in his direction. The teacher announces to the class in a stern voice:

> Class, it's time we get the rules about the fan down cold. If any student touches the fan, I'll turn it off for the rest of the period. That's the rule. This is my fan; I bought it with my own money. I don't want any students touching the fans. If you touch them, that will be all for the day. I'll turn them off. They're my fans. I bought them with my own cash. I don't want students touching the fans.

On another occasion students have been causing minor disturbances throughout the class. The teacher looks up to see them passing a football back and forth between them. The teacher warns:

> If I have to speak to you one more time about staying on task, I'm sending you down to the Dean.

The teacher warnings we have just reviewed were punitive in intent. We found few instances where teachers actually carried out the punishments they threatened. The public threat and the negative language that carried it were the teacher's intended punishments.

7. The closer the situation comes to threatening the teacher's control of the class the more likely it is to excite the emotions of the teacher. On such occasions the teacher's tone becomes harsh and his or her intention to reestablish control of the situation becomes more obvious. The harsh tone of the teacher's reprimand is intended to publicly punish the student for his or her misbehavior. Some examples:

> Tom, will you shut up!
>
> The teacher notices that some students are spraying desks [with the teacher's tile cleaner]. The teacher says, "I don't think that's funny." Her voice is angry. "Now sit down and read." Two boys are playing outside the room. The teacher calls, "Come in here and behave. You have an assignment."
>
> The teacher says to the class, "Stop wasting time. . . you're wasting time. You say I don't give you enough time, but you waste it."
>
> The teacher raises her voice to a near yell and says, "Class, you must be quiet. Do you understand what I'm saying? I have 45 students in here today. Classes are all around us. I don't want to be nasty today, but if you make a great deal of noise I'm going to have to ask you to leave." She stops [talking] and immediately the noise level moves up. She breaks in again, this time nearly yelling. "You're going to have to be quiet. This is the last time I'm going to tell you that."
>
> A wad of paper is thrown across the room. The teacher says angrily, "You know we don't do that!"
>
> Two boys at the back of the room begin chasing each other. The teacher sees them and calls out, "I'm not going to have that."
>
> The teacher stops at Becky's desk and asks a question. Becky answers but I [the researcher] can't hear what she says. The teacher says forcefully, "Becky, I told you to do that when you got back [to the class]. Do it now. Immediately!"

> "Turn around and be still or I'll scotch-tape your mouths." The teacher looks sternly at the class and the noise decreases.
>
> A white male at Table 1 talks to a black male next to him. The teacher asks the white male if he has turned in his assignment. He gives the teacher a blank look. The teacher says, "Don't you know if you did your work this past week?" He answers, "I wasn't here Friday." The teacher exclaims, "Friday has nothing to do with it. Don't you care?" The student answers, "No." The teacher says, "Then be quiet and don't disturb anyone, because they do care what they get done during this marking period."

8. The last strategy for handling public misbehavior is sending a student to a higher school authority for discipline. Every school we observed in had a dean or vice-principal to handle difficult students. The teachers we observed did not avail themselves of the school's disciplinarian very often. To do so was in some degree an admission that the teacher could not handle classroom problems on his or her own. As a high school teacher told us, "I don't send a student up if I think I can talk to him and make him see that he can't [misbehave] like that, that he should behave himself." This teacher only sent to the office those students she felt she could not convince that they had misbehaved. Teachers who are worried about what their colleagues will think of them are careful not to send students to the dean's office very often. We asked a high school teacher if there was "a significant message" in sending students to the office frequently. She answered:

> Yes, though I'm sure nobody sits up there counting. I guess it depends on what the discipline problems are. Teachers can't do much to stop. . .students from being tardy to the first period class. [So sending students to the office for that offense is understandable.] But we can stop students from being tardy the rest of the day. [Students will be on time] if they know we expect them to be on time. They won't [be on time] if they think they can get away with being late. [Sending students to the office for being late to class during the day] is a sign of poor discipline. It's [also] a sign of poor discipline when a student walks out of a class or confronts a teacher.

As we have seen in previous chapters of this report, poor discipline is often considered to be an indication of teacher incompetence. Teachers must guard against getting a reputation for being unable to handle a class. Teachers who use the dean's office too frequently or "write up" students for misbehavior that other teachers could handle easily run the risk of damaging their image of competence in the school.

If, however, a teacher has a reputation for being a good disciplinarian, he can afford to send some students to the office as a punishment in order to set an example for the class of what happens to students who challenge the teacher's authority. An example from field notes:

> As the bell rings the teacher begins a grammar lesson. In the middle of the teacher's explanation she turns to Bill and tells him to put something (I can't see what) away. Later she approaches Stephanie and says (I can't hear her well because she is on the other side of the room) something to the effect, "I told you to put that away. Now I'm going to have to write you up." The student objects, but the teacher ignores her comments. The student takes the write-up sheet from the teacher, gathers her books and leaves for the office.

The public nature of the event--the fact that Stephanie was chastised by the teacher in front of the class and had to gather her books and walk out of the room while the teacher waited in silence for her to exit--made the punishment more severe and served to set an example for other students who might contemplate ignoring a teacher request in the future. This lesson was reinforced when later the vice-principal came into the classroom to discuss the incident with the teacher. As he entered, the teacher said in a voice loud enough for the class to hear, "Do you have a good hot spot for Stephanie to sit in?" Later we asked the teacher to tell us why she had sent Stephanie up to the office.

> I remember distinctly. I said to Bill, "Put that book away." Then the bell rang and I started class and I said, "I told you to put that away . . ." Stephanie took the book and began reading it at the top of her voice. I said to her, "Stephanie, I just said to put that away." Well, I sent her up to the office. I think she needs to know that you don't [disobey the teacher]. When the teacher has told you not to do something, you do it. . . . If the teacher expects you to be quiet and start class [on time], you do what the teacher expects.

In this case, as in so many classroom management situations we have discussed, the teacher was enforcing her authority regarding her control of classroom events. It has been argued in this section that we can best understand the classroom management activities of teachers and the teachers' emotional involvement in such activities if we examine them in the light of the teachers' need to maintain an image of competence in a profession that provides little solid evidence of and scant reward for doing one's job well. As we shall see, the classroom management strategies teachers use are related to efficacy attitudes they hold.

A Methodological Note

At the end of this section, and at the end of the two sections that follow in the chapter, some generalizations will be made about the characteristics of high and low efficacy teachers. It should be remembered that middle and junior high school teachers were selected for observation on the basis of their efficacy scores. High efficacy scores in this portion of the study were those teachers who had efficacy scores of 8 or above and low efficacy teachers were those who had scores of 6 or below.

Observers did not know the efficacy scores of the teachers they observed. Six observers were used and at least ten hours of observations were completed in the classrooms of each teacher. Five high-efficacy teachers and five low-efficacy teachers were observed.

Following classroom observations, two researchers independently reviewed field notes and interview data. The researchers were asked to estimate the efficacy categories of each teacher (high efficacy versus low efficacy) on the basis of what the teachers did in their classrooms and what teachers said during interviews. Both researchers correctly estimated the efficacy categories of all but one teacher. The attitudes and behaviors of this teacher did not coincide with the answers she gave on two efficacy items that appeared on a teacher questionnaire. It was decided on the basis of her frequent references to the inability of some students to learn and her demonstrated inability to control her classroom, instruct her class or win her students' favor that she should be considered a low-efficacy teacher. (See Appendix S.)

Grounded theory coding was completed and the core variable of the theory was established before the researcher responsible for this phase of the research was told the efficacy scores of teachers. On the basis of what was found in the coding process it was decided that the second phase of our research would be conducted in high school basic skills classes where, it was assumed, efficacy attitudes are put to their severest test. It was also decided that systematic observation instruments would be used to determine if the findings of our qualitative research efforts were substantiated using quantitative methods. It should be kept in mind, therefore, that the grounded theory portion of this research project set the stage for the quantitative portion which followed.

The Classroom Management Strategies of Low-Efficacy Teachers

No single variable distinguishes the management techniques of high-efficacy teachers from those employed by their low-efficacy colleagues. The teachers of a particular category do not necessarily use the same management methods and it would be a mistake to believe that efficacy attitudes dictate specific recipes for instruction or discipline. Nevertheless, some useful generalizations can be made when we look across the differences that exist within each efficacy group. We will examine the management styles of low-efficacy teachers first and then proceed to an examination of the management styles of high-efficacy teachers.

Low-efficacy teachers in this study were likely to perceive students, especially low achieving students, as threatening to the teacher's definition of the classroom situation and to the order of the class. Though the classes of low-efficacy teachers often ran smoothly, from the teacher's point of view disorder was an ever present possibility. As one low-efficacy teacher put it:

> You have to be constantly on your guard because you never know if someone is going to say something that's going to get somebody else mad. If someone laughs at a student, you've lost him for the period. . . . Doggone it, there are always four or five people that will throw things off. Maybe you couldn't go over what you've done the day before because they didn't bring [their work] to class, or they left their books at home, or something [that happened] to them. [Some students] don't seem to care.

Some teachers contended that a single student could disrupt the class and threaten the teacher's authority. One low-efficacy teacher took an observer aside at the beginning of a class period to explain, "There's a student in this class who ruins [everything]." She indicated that she hoped the student would be absent that day. Later the teacher said that her job was made unbearable by students

> who cannot or will not concentrate, [and are] concerned with socializing or being popular [and] flirtatious. . . . Their attention span is very, very short. . . . They do not contribute to motivating themselves. They are easily diverted, they are easily upset, sometimes by conditions they have caused themselves. They've made more trouble this year than ever before. Unless they will help themselves, how can [the teacher] go the extra mile? [Too many students have] the attitude . . . that they [shouldn't] rat on each other. It's bad for society.

Some of the problems that existed in this teacher's class, she insisted, were due to the County's busing policy:

> I don't know whose idea it was to bus and mix things up; I don't think that's wise.

Another teacher explained that students with problems at home or with peers often directed their frustration towards teachers in the school. Such students, the teacher explained, "would prefer to throw a pencil or start an argument rather than work. . . . They want to get the whole class off task." When there are a few such students in a class, the teacher's authority is continually being put in jeopardy and great care must be taken to insure that the teacher does not lose control of the class.

The perception that low-achieving students will disrupt the classroom led low-efficacy teachers to work hard to "keep things under control." Control of potentially threatening students for such teachers was a primary aim, and they employed a variety of techniques in order to accomplish that end. A common control technique was the use of *embarrassment* to punish students who misbehaved and to discourage other students who might misbehave in the future. Some examples from field notes and interviews:

> When students misbehaved, I'd get a message to the Dean. I think it has a better effect if I go with them . . . and witness what the Dean says to them. When somebody . . . fusses at you, and a third person is watching, it's a humiliating experience. I think it has a better effect.
>
> I tell them, "You're showing your ignorance. I can tolerate ignorance, but you're proud of it. You must be proud of your ignorance because you're letting everybody know how ignorant you are."
>
> The teacher is sitting at a desk at the front of the room and asking questions of various students. She asks Tom a question. Tom was talking to another student at the time. Sally, Ted and Emma raised their hands. Other students call out answers. The teacher says, "If you didn't call out answers you wouldn't expose yourselves. Almost everyone of you has been wrong."
>
> A student says to the teacher, "Why don't you put the answers up on the board as we go along? The teacher responds, "If you want to run the class, you can, otherwise, shut up."

> A visitor comes into the room to remind students that they will need permission slips if they are going to go on the swimming field trip. The teacher tells the visitor, "It's all right with me if you take all of them and drown them."
>
> Most of the time I had to be real, real, real mean. Real tough. I would single out [a student] and that would make them mad. I'd say, "Allen, I've given up on you. . . ." That would make him mad, but it wouldn't make him change his ways.
>
> The teacher is having trouble quieting the class. She begins to speak, then waits for quiet, Soon she begins again. Some students are talking at the side of the room. The teacher says, "Excuse me, Helen." Helen looks up. The teacher says, "Go ahead, you finish." Helen falls silent, and the teacher continues.
>
> Class noise is increasing. The teacher says, "Why don't you put your left hand over your mouth and write with the other one?"
>
> There is noise in the room. The teacher says, "You'll have to learn self-discipline. I'm not allowed to bring strait-jackets."
>
> The teacher says, "What's your problem?" The student says, "I don't have any paper." The teacher responds rhetorically, "Don't you think you need that when you come to school?"
>
> The class begins and the teacher says, "People, are you having trouble getting settled?" She turns to Joe and says, "You're wasting time." The teacher moves to table 6 and says, "Everything is more interesting than what you are supposed to be doing."
>
> The teacher says angrily, "Turn around and be still, or I'll tape your mouths shut."
>
> The teacher asks a student, "Are you working on your project or just clowning?" Listen, she tells another student, "either you control yourself, or I'll control your behavior for you."

Teachers in the incidents described above attempted to control their students by occasionally embarrassing them in front of the class. This is not a foolproof method of classroom discipline. One teacher who used this device was seldom able to control classroom events. Other teachers, on the other hand, had better results. However, despite the fact that most low-efficacy teachers kept their classes in apparent order, these same teachers continued to perceive the class as at least potentially threatening. A low-efficacy teacher explained that she had to remain continually vigilant in her class:

> God, the abuse you have to put up with. Well, it's not that you have to put up with it. I wouldn't put up with it, but it still comes back at me every day. Discipline problems burn you out and make you feel useless. You've already reached the kids you're going to reach . . . during the first five minutes of the class. . . . You spend the next 20 minutes worrying about discipline.

We asked this teacher how the pressure of classroom situations made her feel. She answered:

> I get killing headaches. I begin to feel physically bad. And then you kind of want to get back at them. I would feel myself going down to their level. Rather than sending them out or telling them to stop I would come back at them. In most cases they're not sophisticated enough . . . to match wits with you. They'll just say something stupid. You might say something very meaningful, but they're not smart enough to get it.

One low-efficacy teacher worked to turn the class against disruptive students. A particularly severe example of this technique occurred when the teacher had handed back an exam and was reviewing the answers with her class. Early in the period a student raised his hand to say, "I have this right, but you marked it wrong." The teacher said she would look at his test after class. A few moments later another student indicated that he, too, had lost points for a correct answer. The teacher said, "I didn't take points off [for that answer], did I?" Again the teacher indicated she would look at the student's test after class. Another grading question surfaced, and the teacher gave the student credit after looking at his paper.

A few moments later Jessica, a girl sitting in the second row, insisted that she had lost points for a question she thought was correct. Her complaint was not that the teacher had inadvertently marked a correct answer wrong, but that the teacher's idea of what was correct was itself in error. The teacher began to show signs of annoyance and attempted to move on to the next question. The student persevered, insisting, "But I was right." The teacher attempted to avoid further confrontation by ignoring the student's complaint and saying to the class, "We aren't going to lunch until we finish. So let's get going. . . ." The class wanted to go to lunch on time and began to pressure Jessica to stop questioning the teacher. The observer described what took place in the class:

> Some students comment, "Yes, let's get on with it." Jessica appears upset and looks down at her paper. The teacher asks her, "What's the problem? Jessica replies softly, "I don't get it." Other students comment angrily, "She gets an A, and she's complaining about her grade. She should see what I got." Jessica says sadly, "It's not the grade, Miss Doe; I just want to understand. I don't understand why this is wrong."
>
> Another students asks, "What is the grade scale on the test?" The teacher says she doesn't remember and begins looking through the papers on her desk. Another student says, "Forget it; let's go on." But the teacher says, "No, you have the right to know what the grade scale is. Let me find it." The teacher appears to be willing to comply with students' requests but because she has said that no one can leave for lunch until they get through with the test, every student's question is met with complaints from other students.
>
> As the teacher is looking for the grade scale she says to the class, "I can't stand this stuff, can you tell?" She finds the grade scale and reads it to the class. Then she turns to Jessica and says that there are differences of opinion on what the right answer would be to the question on the test. However, she indicates that her answer [the teacher's answer] is correct. [The teacher reads the test question and then reads the answer she contends is correct.] She then asks, "Jessica, do you understand it now?"
>
> The teacher has not explained her answer, she has merely asserted it. Jessica answers, "I just think this is an adjective and that my answer is correct."

Jessica was upset and looked down at her desk to hide her face. Her fellow students were impatient. They wanted to go to lunch and were not much interested in whether the teacher's answer or Jessica's answer was correct. Jessica dropped the issue, and the class moved on. A few moments later, however, the teacher brought the class's attention back to Jessica:

> The teacher said, "If you're going to cry and be upset about it, Jessica, I'm sorry." The teacher's comment gave no hint of empathy. She has pointed out to the class that Jessica has been crying, a fact that Jessica was trying to hide by keeping her head down.

Another management device used by low-efficacy teachers was to socially separate "difficult students" from their classmates. We call this process *excommunicating*. We only found this device being used in low-efficacy classrooms. In its simplest form, excommunicating entailed sending potential trouble makers out of the class. An example from field notes:

> Students on the right side of the room are participating in the . . . lesson. Students on the left side of the room are supposed to be participating but instead are engaged in their own activities. The teacher ignores them. [when the noise level on the left side of the room gets quite loud] the teacher tells three students, "Any more trouble from you and you're out." Later she tells two of these students, "Go!" One asks, "Where?" The teacher answers, "I don't care, just go." The two students leave and the third student decides to join them. A fourth student asks if he may go to the lavatory and then joins his friends outside the classroom door.
>
> In another class a student tells the teacher that a classmate has snuck out of the room. The teacher responds simply, "I'm happier with him outside."

The excommunication device was often used during periods of instruction, and it will be discussed again in the next section of this chapter.

One low-efficacy teacher had almost no discipline problems in her class. She maintained order by forming warm relationships with students (so pupils were not prone to challenge her), by individualizing instruction (so she almost never had to control students (so pupils experienced little academic frustration). Though this class was relatively conflict-free, most of this teacher's time and energy was devoted to maintaining the warm environment that prevailed in her room. She was constantly on the alert for potentially problematic events and worked to intercede before such problems took shape. As we shall see in the next section of this chapter, there was little to indicate that students progressed academically in this teacher's class. The teacher's zeal for classroom harmony appeared to take precedence over teaching and learning.

The Classroom Management Strategies of High-Efficacy Teachers

If most low-efficacy classrooms were characterized by an undercurrent of tension, high-efficacy classrooms were characterized by relative harmony. High-efficacy teachers in this study made fewer and less negative comments about "problem students" and the trouble caused by such students. High efficacy teachers were not likely to use embarrassment or excommunication as tactics for classroom management. One high-efficacy teacher explained that she strived to create a "relaxed situation" in her classes:

> It has to be a relaxed situation. I don't like it when it's a strict regimentation type of teaching. I think if students are relaxed and a teacher is relaxed that there is more learning occurring. I read somewhere recently in some paper or journal, that if students laugh more they learn more.

Students misbehaved in classrooms run by high-efficacy teachers just as they did in the classes of low-efficacy instructors. High-efficacy teachers, like low-efficacy teachers, found it necessary to correct misbehavior and keep students in line. However, high-efficacy teachers were usually able to correct misbehavior directly without negative affect, sarcasm, embarrassment or humiliation. They were not as likely to perceive students as desiring to misbehave and less likely to interpret rule infractions as challenging their definition of the classroom situation. As a consequence, high-efficacy teachers were not as likely as their low-efficacy colleagues to appear to be angered or threatened by the misbehavior of students. Their corrective remarks to students tended to be firm, to the point, and without emotional embellishments. Some examples:

> You're going to get into trouble back there, so please move up.
>
> Move up a seat and stay there.
>
> I want to see you after class.
>
> You will not go until I finish giving you your papers.
>
> Those of you at the door, please come back and sit down.
>
> If you don't listen, you're going to miss this.
>
> Now who's whistling? Cut it out, you'll have all week-end to whistle.
>
> You're late. Go get an Admit slip.
>
> I'm not happy that so many people didn't meet the deadline.
>
> I'm waiting for everyone to get ready.

If teachers are to maintain their professional self-respect, they must be able to maintain control of classroom situations. A high percentage of both high and low-efficacy teachers appeared able to accomplish this goal. However, these two groups of teachers were likely to define classroom events in somewhat different ways and to respond to these events in a different manner.

Low-efficacy teachers were likely to define their classes in terms of potential disruption. They experienced many classroom situations as being threatening to their self-esteem and took pride in the fact that they were able to control these threats by "keeping students in line." Their classes were often well behaved, but low-efficacy teachers were more likely to see routine classroom events in problematic terms and mildly problematic events as severely troublesome. As a result they reacted to problematic situations with more negative affect and were more likely to embarrass or humiliate students who misbehaved.

High-efficacy teachers defined student behavior in less threatening terms and thus were less likely to react with negative emotion. Their corrections and directions tended to be direct and non-hostile. As a consequence, perhaps, they invited quicker compliance from their students and received less overt back talk from the pupils they reprimanded. Slightly problematic situations seldom escalated into major confrontations. High-efficacy teachers appeared to receive fewer overt threats to their definition of the situation.

The differences we believe exist between the classroom management strategies of high and low-efficacy teachers are differences in degree and not in kind. High-efficacy teachers do lose their tempers, do define some students in negative terms and do occasionally speak harshly or unkindly to their pupils. However, they appear to do so less often. When systematic observation techniques were employed in basic skills high school classrooms to see if quantitative research strategies would confirm the hypotheses generated by qualitative methods, it was found that high-efficacy basic skills teachers were more likely than their low-efficacy counterparts to run warm classrooms characterized by a lack of negative affect. (See Chapter 5 of this report.)

Instruction

Instruction and Professional Self-Esteem: Maximizing the Signs of Success

Instruction is central to a teacher's role. All of the teachers we talked to claimed that one of their primary goals was to help students learn subject matter and, in so doing, teach students how to learn.

> My major goal is to help students excel in academics to the point where they are able to get information for themselves. I want them to learn how to seek information and learn how to select important information.

> My goal is to make students feel comfortable with themselves and with language arts. I want students to internalize the feeling that it's important to learn.
>
> I want to help students make normal progress and to work up to their potential.
>
> My objective is to get [students] up to grade level.
>
> I want to impart the specific concepts and skills that students need in both the social studies and science. Along with that I want to be a friend to them and to try to be someone who understands them.
>
> My objective would be to plan [and present] material so that students can get the knowledge.
>
> I'd like for students to ask questions that [demonstrate] their understanding of what we're talking about. I just want them to understand the content and to ask supplemental kinds of questions to make it even more interesting.

While teachers' goals center around academic objectives, it is difficult for teachers to know the degree to which they are achieving these objectives. The question is not simply, Are the students learning? because most students learn something in every class they take. The question teachers must answer is, Are students learning as much as they can or should be learning in my class? When the question is asked in this way many variables come into the picture, such as students' potential, their academic motivation, their aspirations and family backgrounds. These factors are impossible to calculate with precision. Yet without a knowledge of the impact these variables have upon student achievement, teachers cannot be sure that they are doing their jobs competently. As one teacher explained:

> I can't say that every child will make a year's progress by the end of school because some students just can't make a year's growth. Others will really have a learning spurt. But it's difficult to know if a student is achieving up to his potential. I wish I could say I knew for certain that all students were working up to their potential. [I don't know that] and that's frustrating and it's difficult. But within my human limitations I . . . do the best I can.

Teachers generally determine whether or not students are learning by administering tests. However, teachers told us that tests do not supply firm evidence that they have been teaching competently and that test results do not always reflect real learning:

> Lots of times students just study to answer questions [not to understand material]. They don't retain as much information as I wish they would. There is very little I can do about that.

> I'm really not placing much emphasis on tests. The reason is that I know that sometimes a kid may have a bad day or he may not have studied.

Teachers also report that they were often disappointed by students' test performance.

> When I tested my kids at the end of the school year, it didn't seem as if they had learned anything. And that's kind of depressing.

> The test I'm going to give tomorrow will be a farce, a farce.

Teachers need to believe that they are teaching effectively if they are to maintain their sense of professional self-esteem. However, the teachers we talked to did not usually turn to test results for evidence of their teaching effectiveness. Test scores, it would appear, offered more threat than solace to teachers. Rather than looking at test results for proof of their professional competence, teachers looked to responses from the student audience:

> Sometimes students will come up and say, "This was hard when we first started it, but now I feel a lot better about it." Or, for instance, if I'm teaching reading, one of my goals is for students to enjoy reading and want to read. And I'll see when I take them to the library if they all go off on their own and bring [books] back.

> If you see the lights turned on and if you notice a child pursuing something [new], then you say, "O.K., maybe we are making progress."

> If it's above their heads, half the class won't participate. If [the material] is at a low level, the better [students] will be bored to death. You can tell real fast [if a lesson isn't working.]

> You want to know how I judge whether or not what I'm doing is effective? I guess I just look at [the students] and see if they're enthusiastic and i. I think they're really getting into the material and if I really think they're learning something. . . .

> The most important [indicator] is if the student has spent a lot of time working on his [assignments]. If he has, I know he's serious.
>
> I can tell [if students are learning] from the questions they ask and answer and from their activities, their conversation and expressions. I pick up more information [about what students learn] from informal discussions [than I do from tests.]

The finding that teachers assess the effectiveness of their instruction by referring to the immediate reactions of students rather than the long-term performance of students on objective tests is compatible with the findings of Philip Jackson (1968) in a study of elementary school teachers:

> Logically, at least, the conscientious teacher ought to point with pride or disappointment to gains or losses of students as measured by test performance. But, as is often true in human affairs, the logical did not occur. One of the most interesting features of the interview material was the absence of reference to objective evidence of school learning in contexts in which one might expect it to be discussed.
>
> Testing, when it is mentioned at all, is given little emphasis. These teachers treat it as being of minor importance in helping them understand how well they have done.
>
> The students' enthusiasm and involvement seem much more important than do their performance on tests . . . (p. 123)

Jackson points out that teachers' evaluations of their own performance are drawn from the fleeting cues embedded in the immediate responses of students. Our own analysis confirms and expands upon this conclusion. If, as we contend, teachers are continually working to prop up their professional self esteem, it is (to borrow Jackson's word) logical that they will look for evidence of competence where they are likely to find it in most abundance and where they are least likely to confront evidence of their own failures. It is also logical that teachers will employ instructional techniques that maximize the positive feedback they get from students and that teachers will concentrate on teaching those students who are most likely to supply such feedback.

Instructional Imperatives in School Structure

Though teachers are free to choose their own methods of instruction, there are certain instructional imperatives that appear to be built into the organizational arrangements of the typical school. For example, the school day is segmented into units of time and the curriculum is organized around subject areas. Students are assigned to specific teachers and study specific subjects, in specific rooms, during specified periods of the day. These taken-for-granted facts of school life build rhythms of order and disorder into the schooling process. At the ringing of a bell all students in the school must pick up their belongings, enter the corridors that connect classrooms and make their way to the next class. Between classes they may socialize with one another, visit the lavatory or dash to their lockers to retrieve a needed book. However, they must get to the next class before the bell rings.

The structure and organizational arrangements just described have behavioral and attitudinal consequences for students and teachers alike. It falls to every teacher to insure that the commotion, noise and movement that occurs between classes do not spill over into the class period itself. Thus, teachers must begin each class by quieting students down and reminding them that the class has officially begun:

> All right folks, the bell has rung. Let's begin.
> You know where you are supposed to be.
>
> In your seats now, please.
>
> The bell has rung. Let's quiet down, guys.
>
> There's too much noise, and there's a lot to do.
> Let me have your attention.

Once the class is in order the teacher must take attendance to insure that students who are supposed to be in class are in fact there. This form of *accounting* is often completed quickly, but students seldom remain quiet during the accounting process. Therefore, teachers must again call for order after the attendance has been taken.

Once the class is in order teachers usually issue *orienting* statements that inform students in a general way of what they will be doing during the period:

> Today we'll be working on noun-verb agreement.
>
> We're going to do some writing today.
>
> This is the last day you'll have to work on your projects.

301

After the class has been oriented to what will be done, the teacher must begin the day's activities by issuing specific instructions to the class. We have labeled this process *structuring*. Students are told what they need to do in order to get the day's activity under way:

> Please open your books to page 28.
>
> You'll need to get your groups together now. It's all right if you want to pull your chairs in a circle so you can face one another.
>
> I'm handing out the work sheets now. Please leave them face down on your desks until I tell you to turn them over.

Structuring usually occurs just once during a class period. However, sometimes an activity is completed before the end of the class, and a new activity is begun. This calls for some restructuring comments from the teacher:

> O.K., students, stand up and stretch for a moment. We'll be working in the Ginn reader next, so take a moment to get your books out.

Periods of *instruction* may follow structuring comments. Teachers may explain some information and check students' understanding of that information by asking questions of the class. Such activities may take up a whole period or may be followed by *assignments* of work that students will do in class, at home or both (e.g., they will begin their work at school and finish it at home). As we shall see a little later, instruction is not an organizational imperative. We observed in many classrooms where little or no formal teaching took place.

Seat work may be assigned after structuring has occurred or after instruction has taken place. When seat work is assigned, teachers generally make some attempt to monitor students to be sure that they stay on task or at least stay quiet. At the end of the class period, teachers usually monitor students' departures from the room.

Even though teachers employ a variety of teaching techniques and display varying degrees of efficiency during classroom instruction, all teachers must adjust to the imperatives described above. Some teachers make those adjustments more effectively than do others.

The Mini-Max Strategy of Instruction

We suspect that teachers choose those instructional strategies that in their experience offer them the most evidence of success and the least evidence of failure. This assertion has an important built-in qualifier. We are saying that teachers choose instructional methods that appear to them to be successful. This is not to say that the strategies they employ are in fact successful. Teachers tend to look for soft (that is, impressionistic) signs of success rather than the harder (that is, more objective) signs that are available through the use of achievement tests. They focus on short-term evidence of interest and progress rather than on signs of long-term gain. And they tend to avoid instructional situations that challenge their sense of competence. If we are correct that teachers generally employ those teaching strategies that they find maximize their sense of competence and minimize their sense of incompetence, it would go far to explain why so many basic skills teachers we observed did not assign homework, why so little formal instruction took place in many classrooms and why many teachers asked questions of the entire class rather than of specific students. We will deal with these issues one at a time.

Only one of the high school teachers we interviewed assigned homework to her basic skills students. When we asked teachers why they did not assign homework they told us:

> I don't think [students] are going to do it.
>
> The kids don't do it, so it's a burden to me. For that reason I don't give homework in these slow classes.
>
> About once a week [I assign] a work sheet. Why only once a week? I don't know. I'm always working with students in class, and that's just about all I can get them to do.
>
> I don't tell the students, "You must take this work home." I allow them to work in class. I don't know why [I don't assign home work]. I'm not sure I could.
>
> I tried to assign home work at the beginning of the school year, and it was futile. It was futile. Two people [in the class] turned it in if I was lucky. If I counted homework, the whole class would have flunked. I believe in homework for these students, but it just didn't work for me.

It could be argued that teachers choose not to assign homework because they want to avoid correcting papers or at least avoid the hassle of enforcing the homework requirement. We are not convinced by this argument because we found most teachers to be willing to work very hard indeed. We met English teachers, for example, who spent most of their weekends grading the compositions of students in their "regular" classes. Given this level of dedication why didn't teachers work to enforce the homework requirement for basic skills students, the students who presumably are in the greatest need of academic practice and reinforcement? The answer, we believe, lies in the fact that teachers generally employ a mini-max strategy of instruction. That is to say, they employ instructional strategies they believe will maximize the evidence of their competence and minimize the evidence of incompetence. To assign homework to students who will vigorously resist doing it is to invite evidence that the teacher is not "getting results."

Other evidence that a mini-max strategy governs the instructional decisions of teachers is found in the fact that we observed very little instruction in either high school or junior high school classes. Teachers assigned projects, handed out individual work sheets, reviewed answers on work sheets, showed films, kept order, kept records, corrected papers, and so on, but they seldom engaged in formal instruction on a regular basis. We did not formally time class activities because we did not anticipate this finding, but classroom protocols suggest that no more than 10 to 15 percent of a typical teacher's class time was devoted to formal instruction. Some teachers engaged in no instructional activities at all while their classes were being observed.

Why did we observe so little formal instruction? Again, we suspect that the answer lies in teachers' mini-max strategies. Teachers are at a high risk during the periods of instruction. It is difficult to hold students' interest and attention, to keep students on task and to maintain classroom order. Thus, the chances of encountering negative evidence is heightened while teachers teach. At the same time, the soft signs of successful teaching do not come as easily during periods of instruction as they might during class discussion, for example. A behaviorist's explanation for the apparent avoidance of instruction would be that teachers get more rewards for avoiding teaching in low-achieving classes than they receive when they attempt formal instruction.

One more piece of evidence reinforces the argument that teachers employ a mini-max strategy of instruction. When teachers do engage in formal instruction, they almost always ask questions of students, presumably to see if their pupils understand what is being taught. Substantive coding revealed that teachers employ two types of questions. The first, what we call *spotlighting*, is asked of a specific student:

> Tom, what was the main idea of this paragraph?
>
> Name one of the major industries of Brazil. Can you do that, Betty?

The second type of question, what we labeled *shotgunning*, is asked of the entire class. Students called out responses or raised their hands and waited to be called on by the teacher. By far the more frequently employed type of question was of the shotgun variety. Among the teachers we observed, shotgunning questions were used much more frequently than spotlighting questions. Teachers using shotgun questions only received responses from students who thought they knew the correct answer. Shotgun questions did not allow the teacher to test the understanding of specific students and virtually guaranteed that the least able students would not be actively involved in the class or identified as needing help. Shotgun questions maximized the teacher's exposure to evidence that he or she was "getting through" and minimized exposure to evidence that some (or many) students were missing the point.

When spotlighting questions were employed, they were often asked of the more academically able students in the class. Low-achieving students were called upon, but often questions were directed at these students because the teacher observed that a student was not paying attention but was distracting other students from the lesson. Thus, spotlighting questions can also be used to facilitate the mini-max strategies of teachers. Able students provide evidence that the teacher is getting through, and less able students are called upon so they will stop engaging in behavior that signifies that the teacher is not holding their attention or helping them understand.

We are not suggesting that the mini-max strategy we have been describing is employed consciously by teachers. On the contrary, we suspect that it is a prereflective activity that comes about because teachers are sensitive to signs of their professional failings and get into the habit of looking for success wherever it can be found.

The Instructional Techniques of Low-Efficacy Teachers

No single variable distinguishes the instructional techniques of low-efficacy teachers from their high-efficacy colleagues. However, certain patterns are discernible in the instructional behaviors of each group of teachers.

Low-efficacy teachers, as we saw in a previous section of this chapter, tend to perceive low-achieving students as presenting a threat to the teacher's definition of the classroom situation and to the order of the class. This attitude colors the teaching strategies employed by low-efficacy teachers. They are likely to view their task as one of containment rather than instruction. They tend to believe that low achievers do not learn either because they won't ("thinking is just something they're too lazy to do") or they can't ("I'm sure [some students' failure] has to do with a lack of mental ability. I'm sure of that.") Thus, low-efficacy teachers do not tend to devote time to trying to help low achievers improve academically because, in their view, such an effort would produce few positive results and many frustrations. A classroom observer reported a conversation on this topic in her field notes:

> The teacher told me how difficult it is to teach [students who are at] different levels. She feels she has to ignore those who won't learn and try to teach those who will. This, she said,

> was the advice of her principal which at first was shocking to her, but now she realizes [contains] a great deal of truth.

Other low-efficacy teachers put it this way:

> I guess it is a first-year mistake [to think] that you have to reach everybody. But there's no way you can, and you've got to realize that.
>
> I'm not going to reach them all. I think an awful lot of teacher energy is wasted on those [students] who don't want to do anything.
>
> It didn't take me long after I came to this school to see that students were slower [than average]. So I didn't try to accomplish a great deal. I don't feel the students listen or care.
>
> The teacher said that her main concern was just controlling disruptive students. At this point (3 weeks before the end of school) she's not real concerned about their getting work done as long as they don't disrupt the rest of the class.

Low-efficacy teachers were likely to define students primarily in terms of their ability:

> The way we have classes set up makes [instruction] really hard. We've got total illiterates sitting next to people who are gifted, and we're supposed to teach them all.
>
> I have everything from the very bright to the very dull here. The white boy in the brown shirt over there is almost LD (Learning Disabled).

Low-efficacy teachers were likely to suggest either that low-achieving students should not be in school,

> I don't think they belong in school. I think they need an alternative.

or they believe such students should be in some other teacher's classroom:

> The teacher said that next year she would not teach a class like this [with many low-achieving students]. She said she told the principal that she would work at the school again only if she could teach French or another foreign language for several periods

> during the day. She explained that she did not want to work with the kinds of students she is working with now.

Low ability students tended to be left alone by low-efficacy teachers as long as such students were not disrupting the class. Though classroom observers did not objectively measure student-teacher interaction during ethnographic observations, a review of observer field notes indicates that low-achieving students in low-efficacy classrooms were called on less often and were seldom pushed or encouraged to complete their work, do it competently or to hand it in on time. On frequent occasions the work assigned to low-achieving students appeared to be designed to keep the students out of the teacher's way while he or she worked with the rest of the class. An example:

> The teacher divided the class into two groups. One group is working on diagramming sentences while the other group is working on [an exercise dealing with] irregular verbs. She describes an assignment and tells the students that they can go to the library to do their work. . . . The nine students in the group leave the class. All six of the black students in the class are in this group.

At the end of the class period the observer spoke with the teacher and recorded her comments in his field notes:

> I asked what assignment she gave the library group. She responded, "I gave them an assignment on irregular verbs. It's hard and they won't get it, most won't even do it. And that's OK with me. I just had to give them something to do so I could work with the rest of the class on diagramming sentences."
>
> I asked, "Will you teach diagramming to these students during another class?" She responded, "Are you kidding? They can't learn that. They can't learn verbs either, for that matter."

On the following day the teacher leads a lesson in diagramming sentences. The group that had been sent to the library the day before sat quietly in the back rows of the classroom but were not involved in the class discussion:

> All the interaction between students and the teacher comes from the students in the first three rows. Students in the back rows hardly participate at all. They are not disruptive, but they are not a part of what's going on in the class either. The teacher sets the first three rows to work on a grammar

> exercise related to the material they have just covered. She then turns to Esther, a black female, and says, "You will be the teacher today for your group." She gives the Warner's text manual to Esther and sends the group to the back table.
>
> These are the same students who left the class for the library yesterday, the group the teacher said would not be able to do the work she had assigned. They have received no instruction on irregular verbs and are now grading their own work. Esther reads the answers, and each student corrects his or her own paper. I can't tell from where I'm sitting if they are correcting their work, doing it for the first time or changing the answers.

We have called the process of dividing the class into ability groups *sorting*. We use the label *excommunicating* to describe what occurs when two groups receive markedly different instructional treatments from the teacher. In many instances low-efficacy teachers will only teach to and expect work from higher-achieving students. Students of less ability are either given less attention or totally excommunicated from the daily round of classroom events.

As if by secret agreement some students were never called upon by low-efficacy teachers and were seldom pushed to complete their work. In fact, low-efficacy teachers paid very little attention to such students so long as they remained relatively silent in the class and did not cause trouble fo the instructor. An example:

> The teacher is leading a lesson. The boy the teacher identified during lunch as "illiterate" sits silently in the back of the room. He takes no part in the class, speaks with no one, and is not called upon by the teacher. He merely looks into space. Finally he puts his head down on his desk and goes to sleep.

When asked about this student the teacher commented:

> I can't get through to some students. He can't read at all. Well, maybe he reads at the third-grade level. I tried to help and when my intern was here she tried, too. But we just couldn't do anything. I'm going to try and get him switched to another class.

Low-efficacy teachers tend to concentrate their efforts, concerns and affection on high-achieving students. An observer described how such preferential treatment takes place in a low-efficacy teacher's classroom:

> The teacher says, "Ladies and gentlemen, I would like to get started." The noise continues. "You people working on grammar, let me give you one more thing to do. It's a little review exercise." She hands out the assignment to the students who the teacher told me were in the deepest academic trouble. She set them to work on their own. These "slow kids" are being given something to do so the teacher can work with the "faster group." The slow group has been given an exercise, has been asked to correct it on their own and is now being given another exercise on the same topic. The teacher has given them no guidance, no instruction and no feedback on their previous work.

Not all low-efficacy teachers excommunicate low-achieving students as blatantly as the teacher described above. Some low-efficacy teachers simply stopped trying to teach low-achieving students because these students had not responded to the teacher's efforts in the past. An example:

> A white male at the head table talks to a black male next to him. The teacher asks if the white male has turned in his assignment. He gives her a blank look. The teacher asks, "Don't you know if you've done your work in the past week. . . .? Don't you care?" The student says, "No." The teacher responds, "Then sit quietly, and don't disturb anyone else because they do care. . . ." The student takes out a paperback book and flips through its pages, closes it and starts tapping quietly on the table with the head of his pencil.

In the classes of some low-efficacy teachers the sorting process stratified students according to the teacher's assessment of their ability. Students in the lower group were considered to be less interesting and less worthy of the teacher's attention than students in the upper groups:

> The students are given an exercise that they must complete in parts. If it is completed correctly, nonsense sentences will be developed, and the students will read their sentences to the class. While the students are working, the teacher moves over to me and says, "The sad thing is they don't even know enough for the exercise to be fun. They can't even identify the parts of speech [and that's a vital part of the game]. My gifted students do this with a real flair. You know that special gift of getting the sense of something in giving

> your all? They come up with some wonderful sentences. These kids won't get sentences like that. Those two students over there are pretty bright (she points to two white males), and they may get some good ones.
>
> The teacher has had a slight altercation with a student. After the class is over, he comes back to where I'm sitting and says, "Can you tell I really dislike that girl?" "Which one?" I asked. The teacher responds, "The one that was whining. She's always whining and complaining." I asked, "Why do you suppose that is?" The teacher answers, "She thinks she's brighter than she really is."

When low-efficacy teachers sort and stratify their classes according to ability and give preferential treatment (more instruction, more interaction, more appropriate praise and feedback, more assignments, and so on), students soon learn where they stand in the teacher's pecking order. For example, the teacher who was just quoted taught one class of gifted students. A sign on the teacher's door read "Gifted." Some edited excerpts from the observer's field notes:

> The gifted class just completed some mosaics representing Greek myths, and the teacher suggested that students go to other classes to show their mosaics and explain their meaning. When the students resisted the idea of performing before their friends, the teacher encouraged them by saying, "But they're your peers." A student spoke up to say, "Yeah, you've got to prove you're above them." The teacher nodded in agreement.
>
> Soon after this incident a visitor entered the gifted classroom and in the course of his discussion with the teacher said to the students, "This is the best class in the school. You're all lucky to be here."
>
> Later in the year the gifted class put on a festival in which they dressed in costumes that they had made themselves, danced dances and sang folk songs they had learned, played games and ate a meal students and parents had prepared for the occasion. The festival took place during morning classes outside on the school's front lawn. Students in regular classes could observe the festivities through classroom windows. At lunch time the festival moved into a decorated classroom.

> The principal comes into the room. She leans over to me and says, "Most kids [in this school] don't realize that teachers would allow them to do these activities if they would just behave. But students here won't do that. It's a shame."
>
> A black child from another class walks by the room, looks in the door and observes the all white class. The students are dancing,and parents are returning to the room with platters of turkey and ham. The child surveys the scene. The principal says, "You looking for someone?" The girl looks up at her but says nothing and quickly leaves.

A week later the same teacher was working with a heterogeneously grouped social studies class. The teacher asked a shotgun question, and a low-achieving student volunteeered an answer. The teacher indicates that the student's answer was correct. The student replied, "See, we're not so dumb." The teacher responds, "I didn't say you were."

In another class a student was summoned to the guidance counselor's office:

> The teacher says, "You might as well go, Jim, you're not learning anything anyway." The student leaves and another student asks, "Are you calling us dumb?" The teacher replies sarcastically, "No, you're wonderful."

Statements and practices such as those discussed above serve to stigmatize low achievers and to encourage them to think of themselves as being slow and perhaps uneducable.

Up to this point we have been discussing low-efficacy teachers who are not talented at or much interested in helping low achievers achieve. However, these same teachers often performed adequately when teaching middle or high-achieving students. Another group of low-efficacy teachers, however, appeared to have difficulty teaching students of any ability level. We call this group low-efficacy, generally ineffective teachers, or LEGITS for short. LEGITS had difficulty accommodating the institutional imperatives of instruction. For example, LEGITS had difficulty establishing control at the beginning of their classes. Sometimes it took ten or fifteen minutes before these teachers could get the class settled and under way. An example from fieldnotes:

> The teacher sends Sam out of the room to find out the lunch menu. Most students are chatting among themselves. The teacher says, "As soon as Sam returns with the lunch menu, we'll go over

> the assignment. In the meantime, let's take roll. . . ." The students continue to talk among themselves. The teacher converses with them about the school's field trip to Silver Springs, and the conversation turns to alligators and crocodiles. Students are laughing and enjoying the conversation. Sam returns and announces the menu to the class. The teacher thanks him and tells the class that now they'll return to their work. The students keep talking.

When LEGITS allow classroom conversations to become social rather than academic, they often found it difficult to draw students' attention back to the academic task at hand.

The classes of low-efficacy, generally ineffective teachers tended to wind down rather than end. It often appears as though LEGITS worked for five or ten minutes to get students to be semi-engaged in a class activity, held students' attention for as long as they could and then gradually lost control of their students. Ten or fifteen minutes before the end of the period such teachers were forced to stop teaching because students were no longer paying attention. Some examples:

> It's now 2:40, and the class is not scheduled to dismiss for another ten minutes. Essentially, the class has ended. The teacher has discontinued the lesson because students are talking and is now speaking to Sam and Sheila. The teacher is out of her seat. The class is beginning to become chaotic. Eddie is literally running around chasing Betty. Harry sprays a poster with a bottle of window cleaner which he has snuck out of the filing cabinet located near the door. Announcements begin to come over the P.A., and students continue to run around the room. No one is listening to the announcements, including the teacher. Most students are now by the door waiting for the bell. The teacher is at her desk. Four students continue to scramble around the room, somewhat more slowly now. It is 2:50, and the bell rings. The class is over, and the students leave.
>
> Students sense the end of the class, and talking gets louder. A few students bring papers to the front table where the teacher is sitting. From time to time students come to the table to talk with the teacher. One student is singing. Another student grabs something from his neighbor. Most class members are sitting at their desks chatting. A few girls are brushing their hair. Eddie pokes Linda who says in an annoyed tone,

> "Come on, I'm getting sick of that." Eddie continues, and the teacher says, "Come on, Eddie." The teacher is talking with a few students. She is smiling and ignoring most of the activity in the room. She then looks up and watches the class. She continues talking, looks at the class, continues talking, etc. The bell rings, and students leave.

LEGITS seldom greeted students when they entered the room. They seldom provided orienting or structuring statements at the start of the class, did not give clear assignments and had great difficulty in managing the class especially during moments of transition. They seldom engaged in formal instructional activities, preferring instead to lead discussions, monitor seat work or show films. Such activities often appeared to be designed to fill time rather than to develop skills or impart knowledge. Som examples from field notes:

> When I arrive at school, I find that the teacher's room is locked. I stand outside for a moment, and when a woman walks by I ask her if she knows where the teacher and her class have gone. The woman indicates that they are in her classroom watching a movie. I follow her into the classroom across the hall. The teacher is standing at the back of the room. She turns to me and says that she meant to call me and tell me that all her classes would be seeing a movie today. She apologizes but told me that I was welcome to stay and watch it. I suggest that we use this time for me to interview her. She agrees, and we go to her room. Twenty minutes later the woman from across the hall comes into the classroom looking a little pale. She asks the teacher if she has seen the film. The teacher says no. The colleague says, "Well, I think you'd better come and see it. It's dealing with prostitution, and some guy is teasing a boy about "going all the way." I accompany the teacher to the library where we check to see for what grade level the movie is recommended. We find that it is recommended for high school students and not junior high students. The teacher indicates that she will show the movie to other classes even though she has not yet seen it.
>
> The teacher tells the class that she has found out that another teacher will be showing a movie during the period. She says she has not seen the movie, but she will let her class see it if they pay attention for the next minutes. Later she takes the class into a neighboring room. It is clear that she has not previewed the movie. She

> is using it to fill time or perhaps to reward students for previous good behavior. She clearly has no educative end in view. It is not clear if the teacher is giving students a break from the daily grind or giving herself a break. The movie is an obtuse exploration of four survivors of a nuclear holocaust. It is made in England, and the actors have British accents that the students find difficult to understand. The characters talk of Shakespeare's Tempest, Shelley's poetry, Beethoven's sonatas played by Oscar Levant and more. The movie has little action, and its message appears lost on the students.

Another teacher presented a film to her class explaining that she hadn't seen it because "it is new." During the film she sat in the back of the room correcting papers and only occasionally looked up to see the movie.

After spending three weeks in one teacher's classroom, a researcher wrote in his field notes:

> I can't grasp this teacher's method of instruction. She introduces the day's work at the beginning of the period. However, she does not get specific about anything save perhaps procedural matters (the page the assignment is on, and so on). She will tell students to "write a good and complete sentence." But she does not explain what she means by a good sentence or how a student could tell if a sentence was complete.

Low efficacy, generally ineffective teachers had other failings as well. They often appeared to have neglected to plan adequately for their classes:

> The teacher goes on with the test. She reads seven questions. Before long there is confusion as to how many questions she has dictated. The teacher doesn't know because whe has not numbered her questions. They are scribbled in the margin of a paper she brought with her back from lunch. I suspect that the questions were put together quickly during the lunch break.
>
> The teacher announces that it's time to hand in their papers. She indicates that the students will spend time reading from a magazine she will hand out. She looks around the class trying to find her materials. She can't find them, and there is general disorder in the room. She finally finds

> the material she is looking for and begins to hand it out. A student says, "But I'm sorry, I forgot." She goes back to the book shelf and looks for other material. Finally she discovers an activity. The noise level is loud. The teacher was in a bind because she could not stop looking for the material long enough to quiet students down.

LEGITS sometimes engaged in activities that devalue or sanction the devaluation of students' work:

> Eddie wants to read next and raises his hand. The teacher acknowledges Eddie, and he begins to read aloud. Linda goes up to the teacher with papers in her hand. They talk in very loud voices while Eddie is trying to read to the class. Eddie stops, frustrated because he can't be heard. The teacher then says to Eddie, "We can't hear you." And he proceeds to read.
>
> The teacher calls on Caroline saying to the class, "Listen, this is the best part of the story. Caroline reads but she can't be heard over the noise. The teacher does not quiet the class.

In one class students were giving oral reports. The teacher did not monitor student noise, and the class could not hear the report. The student attempted to quiet the class on his own. Finally he said, "Oh, to heck with it," and sat down.

LEGITS often had great difficulty managing their classrooms. Disruptions occurred frequently, and these teachers tolerated (or were forced to ignore) a conspicuous amount of off-task behavior. Some examples:

> Betty has been off task most of the time. The teacher has put her back on task once, but she is no longer aware of what Betty is doing.
>
> Eight students are off task. They are whispering quietly to one another. The teacher works at her desk undisturbed. . . .
>
> Students are getting noisy. A white male walks in and calls a black male student over to him, and they confer in the back of the room. The teacher seems unaware of this exchange. Two other students are out of their seats talking with one another.

The teacher is circulating around the room. She points to writing on Sally's desk. The student sitting in front of her goes to the file cabinet and gets some cleaning fluid and a cloth. Sally responds, "You put that on my desk, and I'll shoot you." The teacher does not intervene. Sally goes to the file cabinet and gets some liquid spray cleaner and sprays her desk heavily. She proceeds to move to other students' desks and sprays them as well. The teacher is talking to another student in the front of the room and does not notice this behavior until four or five desks have been sprayed. . . .

Harry slips out of the room while the teacher has her back turned. He is gone for four minutes. He slips back into the room. The teacher never notices that he is missing.

Dotty begins her report, and the teacher interrupts by asking Rick if he wants to go into the hall. A female teacher enters the room and asks for Tom. They leave. Dot begins to read her report. Two students are punching each other. Emmett has gotten up from his chair and is sitting on the corner of the table. Tom returns to the room and goes over to the teacher. Students are getting noisy while he talks with her. Another student leaves the room. Betty returns to the room, walks to the back door and looks out, then returns to her seat. Another student gets up from his desk to retrieve a wad of paper he has thrown across the room. A student tickles Dot as she reads her report. Two students throw papers at one another. Some other students are talking loudly at the back table. The teacher does not respond to any of this activity. Dot sits down.

The teacher sits at her desk going through papers. The students at the table are sitting talking, fooling around, laughing. The teacher looks their way but says nothing.

The teacher is at her desk. . . . She looks up and says, "I need it pretty quiet, so I can get through your report cards. . . ." One boy walks over to talk to another boy. They talk loudly for a few minutes. The teacher looks up from what she is doing and watches for a moment.

I asked the teacher if she was aware that two of her students were rolling dice in the aisle during the test. She responded that she knew they were fooling around and probably weren't working, but she couldn't make them work.

Low-efficacy, generally ineffective teachers were often observed instigating off-task behaviors themselves. One teacher had a habit of interrupting students while they were working quietly on assignments by drawing their attention to events that could be seen through the classroom window. Low-efficacy, generally ineffective teachers were also more likely than other teachers to praise inaccurate answers from students. Some examples:

> When the teacher has a correction to make, she only makes it after a statement of praise. ("That's good, but I want an answer that incorporates all the information.") She has asked students to write "good sentences" but when students read run-on sentences or sentence fragments, the teacher makes no mention of these problems. She says simply, "You've got an excellent answer there."
>
> Students read an awkward sentence. The teacher responds, "That's good, but make sure you write a sentence that makes sense because you're going to have it on the test. . . ."
>
> A student responds to the teacher's questions, and she accepts his answer. But she goes on to another student for the correct answer she is looking for.
>
> The teacher complimented the class on how well they worked today, though more students appeared to be off task than I had observed at any time in the past.

To sum up, low-efficacy teachers perceived low-achieving students as difficult if not impossible to teach and as a threat to their control of the classroom and their sense of professional competence. They tended to call on low-achieving students less often than other students. They give such students less personal attention, tended to excommunicate them from class activities and to generally communicate the low expectations they had for the performance of such students. When low-efficacy attitudes were combined with generally poor teaching (low effectiveness) a new set of classroom difficulties emerged. Low-efficacy, generally ineffective teachers had difficulty maintaining order and direction in their classes. The beginning and ending of the class period were not clearly delineated. Orienting and structuring behaviors were often obscure or altogether absent. Instructions were often unclear and sometimes non-existent. Off-task behavior was tolerated and sometimes instigated by the teachers themselves, and student work was generally devalued. Praise was sometimes used inappropriately. Teaching appeared to be a strain for such teachers, and they reported that they got little reward from their work. Many said they had considered leaving the profession.

The Instructional Techniques of High-Efficacy Teachers

High-efficacy teachers in this study had less trouble managing their classes than did low-efficacy teachers and appeared to have fewer altercations with students. They tended to run warmer, instruction-oriented classes.

Most high-efficacy teachers had clear expectations for the beginning and endings of class sessions and constant procedures for enforcing those expectations. They expected students to be seated and settled at the start of period, to have materials ready, and to get ready to leave the class only when directed to do so. Students understood these expectations, and teachers reminded pupils when they were not doing what was expected of them.

> O.K., put away your annuals, your books, and all that kind of thing.
>
> The first thing we're going to do is to work on the final draft of your papers. I know these papers are going to be wonderful. Today we're going to practice the skill of writing a good paragraph.
>
> The bell has rung. Everybody should be in their seats.

Messages such as those quoted above communicate that class time is valuable, that it is not to be wasted, and that it should be devoted to instruction and learning. Closing remarks reinforced the expectations of order and academic performance:

> Your deadline is approaching. When is your paper due? I'm not going to give you additional time in class on Friday. It's due at the beginning of the period.
>
> O.K., you may clean your desks now and then you may go.
>
> Do you have any questions you want to ask before you go home today?

High-efficacy teachers tended to exhibit in most areas of classroom life what has been called "withitness" (Dunkin and Biddle, 1974). They seldom overlooked infractions when they occurred and took action, both subtly and overtly, to curb inappropriate student behavior. They corrected misbehavior and often stayed on the scene of an infraction for long enough to insure that reprimanded students stopped misbehaving and got back to work.

High-efficacy teachers were more likely to keep students on task and to stay on task themselves. They did not grade papers during class, did not leave the class frequently, did not socialize with other students or teachers during the class, and did not often engage in behaviors that were not related to instruction. They worked with students from the time the class began until the class was over. They frequently walked around the room to monitor seat work, check students' progress on written assignments, help individual students, and offer encouragement. High-efficacy, "withit" teachers initiated instructionally oriented interactions with students in the course of a class period.

> The teacher went to the board and began to illustrate a point she was making about a particular aspect [of the students' assignment]. She moves from the board to two students and talks briefly with them. She moves over to Tom, speaking along the way and observing and checking the students' work as she moves around the room. She went from Harry to Betty to Paul to John. She said to Emmett, "How are you doing?" She looked at his paper and moved on to Emmett. On her way she stops by Sally's desk and answers a question. She moves to her own desk, looks through a folder and answers another student's question while she does so. She's looking for a paper that is related to the report Harry is writing. She seems to be unable to find the paper and tells Harry to look in his locker. The teacher moves on to Harriet. Another student asks a question, and the teacher moves on to Barry. Ellen goes over to Barry's desk and leans across to say something to Betty. The teacher looks up, looks around the room and says, "I like the way John, Beverly and Rod are working." Ellen goes back to her seat. The teacher continues to work with two other students.

High-efficacy techers appeared to instruct their classes more often, coach their students more carefully and monitor their students' behavior more rigorously. They continually demonstrated their concern for student learning. Effective monitoring should not be confused with reprimanding. Statements like, "I like the way Sally is working," enable the teacher to reward appropriate behavior, keep students on task, and extinguish negative behavior without negative affect.

Student-Teacher Relationships

All of the teachers we interviewed said they derived their greatest professional satisfaction from working with young people. Students are a teacher's primary audience, and it is from that audience that teachers must ultimately gather their sense of professional success or failure. They desire to enter situations with students in which they share goals, have similar definitions of the roles each will play, support one another in the pursuit of these shared goals and, ultimately, achieve the objectives they have set for themselves. In practice, however, teachers must settle for realities that fall short of this ideal. The kind of reality teachers settle for is mediated by numerous factors. One important factor appears to be the efficacy attitudes that teachers establish as they struggle to maintain a sense of competence in an endemically uncertain profession. Nowhere is the power of efficacy more apparent than in the domain of teaching we have labeled Student-Teacher Relationships.

As we have already seen, some teachers developed a general distrust of students, or at least of low-achieving, misbehaving students. These teachers attempted to deal with the threat that students posed to their professional self-esteem by emphasizing the importance of classroom discipline. This is not to say that the low-efficacy teachers in this study were necessarily ineffective classroom managers. We are merely suggesting that low-efficacy teachers defined classroom situations in terms of an inherent conflict between students and teachers. They perceived students in general and/or some types of students in particular as potentially threatening and saw it as the teacher's task to manage these threats effectively. When teachers were successful in this regard, they took pride in their success. When they were unable to control the class, they were likely to blame their failure on the incorrigibility of their pupils. In any event, the primary definition of the situation in low-efficacy classrooms was one of conflict.

Max Weber made a useful and now classic distinction between personal and professional authority. According to his analysis these two types of authority grow from different sources and are maintained by different methods. Positional authority resides in the status an individual holds within an institution. It is not earned by status occupants but comes with the jobs they hold. Low-efficacy teachers found some security in the positional authority of the teacher role. They therefore were uneasy about establishing relationships with students that might jeopardize their hold on the positional authority of their professional role. Field notes on a conversation between a classroom observer and a teacher make this point:

> The teacher commented that she felt that building a rapport with students was essential. However, she said that sometimes she had to get herself out of conversations; otherwise, she might "incriminate" herself. She said that personal relationships sometimes interfere because some students try and get away with things. She said sometimes close relationships with students made it difficult for her to know what it was she was to do.

> Another low-efficacy teacher explained, "I started off like a sweet angel and had all these wonderful ideas, but they laughed me out of the room. So I cried a lot my first year because I was so upset. I finally realized that the fewer times I would smile the better off I would be. To them, smiling is a sign of weakness.

Low-efficacy teachers generally saw discipline as important in and of itself but also as a means for establishing an environment in which orderly instruction and effective learning could take place. Represented diagrammatically, the logic of their thinking looks like this:

Some students will disrupt the class if they are allowed to. → Therefore, effective classroom management and discipline practices are necessary → in order to facilitate learning.

High-efficacy teachers had a more benign view of students. Though they agreed that students can and will disrupt a class if they are allowed to, they also believed that such activities can be avoided if teachers establish friendly relationships with their pupils. If low-efficacy teachers can be said to have relied on institutional authority, high-efficacy teachers relied on personal authority. Personal authority is not bestowed by the institution; it grows from an individual's personality. We do a person's bidding because we trust his or her judgment, experience and expertise. We know the person, trust them and are willing to work with them. While positional authority demands social distance, personal authority requires something close to the intimacy of a primary relationship. Teachers explain:

> I appreciate students that initiate conversations with me and that I really get to know. They know me as a person and talk about things you don't have to talk about with your teacher. They don't talk about their homework or their assignments; they talk about what happened to them at home or a movie they saw, or they ask me if I had a nice week end. I appreciate students who initiate conversations with me.
>
> I try to impart concepts to students, but along with that I try and be a friend to them. I try to be someone who understands them.

High-efficacy teachers tended to handle the threats that students posed to their professional self-esteem by building personal relationships with their pupils. They attempted to define the classroom situation not in terms of a conflict model but in terms of primary relationships. They perceived students as being potential friends and saw it as their task to build strong relationships with the pupils of their class. When they were successful in this regard they took pride in their accomplishments. When they were unable to build relationships with a particular student, they tended to blame themselves and to work harder to achieve that goal.

Though high-efficacy teachers generally saw the establishing and maintainance of personal relationships as an important end in itself, they also saw it as a means of establishing an environment in which orderly instruction and learning could take place.

Students will learn if given an opportunity to establish friendships, confidence and self-respect. → Therefore, teachers must build strong interpersonal relationships with their students → in order to facilitate learning.

One low-efficacy teacher we observed worked hard to build personal relationships with students. However, her goal was not so much to establish an environment in which learning could take place but rather to avoid confrontations with students. Thus, this teacher spent most of her class time maintaining the teacher-student relationship and almost no class time instructing the class.

Summary

We have used this section of the chapter not so much to introduce new findings as to bring together various lines of analysis that have run throughout the chapter. It has been contended that teaching is an uncertain profession and that teachers have difficulty maintaining an image of competence among colleagues and a sense of professional self-esteem for themselves. The teachers we studied were isolated from their peers and vulnerable to the criticisms from multiple publics. They held lofty goals for themselves but were deprived of ways to measure if they were advancing toward those goals.

The grounded theory presented in this chapter asserts that the central social-psychological problem facing teachers is the establishment and maintenance of a sense of professional self-esteem in an occupation that affords few concrete assurances that they are competent, doing what needs to be done or making a difference in the academic and social growth of students. This need for self-respect and the endemic uncertainties of the teaching profession that inhibit the fulfillment of that need insure that teachers must constantly be on the lookout for small signs of success. They present themselves to others in such a way as to maximize the appearance of competence while minimizing the appearance of mediocrity. They choose teaching strategies, classroom management tactics and develop relationships with students that provide them with the most signs of success and the fewest signs of failure. However, what they see as a sign of success and what they define as a sign of failure appear to be mediated by their efficacy attitudes. Teachers with a high sense of efficacy employed a pattern of strategies that in most cases minimized negative affect, promoted an expectation of achievement and provided a definition of the classroom situation that centered around warm interpersonal relationships and academic work. Teachers with a low sense of efficacy established a pattern of strategies that heightened negative affect and promoted an expectation of failure for low-achieving students. It stratified students into categories of competence and incompetence and defined the classroom situation in terms of conflict rather than warm interpersonal relationships. Academic achievement was often emphasized but only for those students whom the teacher defined as able and worthy of the teacher's attention.

CHAPTER 10

Teachers: Professionals at Risk

Recommendations for Research to Increase Teachers' Sense of Efficacy

The uncertainty, the isolation, the negative public image of teaching, the conflicting expectations that pervade the teacher's professional life have been widely documented in our Efficacy Study as well as in other studies of teaching (Eddy, 1969; Jackson, 1968; Lortie, 1975; Metz, 1978). The impact of these negative characteristics of the profession is undoubtedly reflected in the attrition among teachers, a rate unparallelled in any other profession.

Teachers' sense of efficacy has been demonstrated to be an important factor in teacher attrition. According to Chapman and Hutcheson (1982) about one of every four teachers eventually leaves the teaching profession for another career. In a study designed to identify characteristics that discriminate between those leaving and those staying in teaching, Chapman and Hutcheson found that attrition is not explained by personal characteristics of teachers but rather is related to teachers' self-rated perceptions of their skills and abilities (that is, their sense of efficacy). In their study of teacher attrition, Glickman and Tamashiro (1982) reported that teachers who left the profession were significantly lower in sense of efficacy, as measured by the Rand efficacy items, than either first or fifth year teachers.

The relationship of teachers' sense of efficacy to teacher attrition as well as to student achievement (Armor et al., 1976; Berman et al., 1977) indicates that further research of the sense of efficacy construct may be influential in improving teacher job satisfaction and student achievement. In this chapter, we will outline characteristics of research studies of teachers' sense of efficacy that are likely to contribute to the improvement of teaching as a profession and the advancement of equal educational opportunity for all students.

Transforming Experiments

Traditional educational research has been very limited in its positive impact on educational practice. After nearly a century of classroom research, teachers report that their classroom behavior is relatively unaffected by the educational research literature that represents an enormous investment of resources in the study of education (Lortie, 1975). The failure of research to have more of a positive influence on schooling is due, in part, to the conservative nature of the research and the narrow psychological perspective guiding the research. If educational research is to provide direction for the changes needed to enhance teachers' sense of efficacy significantly, bold new visions of schooling based on a comprehensive interdisciplinary perspective are needed.

The Need for Bold Visions

Most educational research, particularly the research conducted within the influential process-product paradigm, is inherently conservative, because it is conducted in "typical" classrooms. This research may identify the most effective teaching procedures occurring in these classrooms, but the discovery of powerful, new approaches to teaching and learning of real consequence for educational policy-making is unlikely for two reasons: (1) the similarity among classrooms and (2) the lack of classrooms based on a conceptually consistent theory of teaching and learning. Observation of classrooms reveals that present-day classrooms are more similar than different. Because statistical analyses require variance among behaviors in order to reveal relationships, the probability of identifying effective innovative strategies in current classrooms is quite limited. As Mitzel (1977) pointed out, schools and classrooms tend to consist of many contradictory elements. Lack of a coherent, conceptually pure theory of schooling leaves teachers floundering amid conflicting notions of effective teaching, as they attempt to apply a little of Skinner here and Piaget there, for example. In reaction to this confusing situation, teachers tend to assume an intuitive, trial-and-error approach to teaching. With no guiding framework to structure teaching strategies, classrooms become an expression of the idiosyncratic synthesis of the teacher's own personal experiences as a student and teacher (Lortie, 1975). Research conducted in such contexts is not likely to yield meaningful information. Thus, as Bronfenbrenner (1976) concluded: "Most of our scientific ventures into social reality perpetuate the status quo." Conceptually pure prototypes of teaching approaches are essential in order for current research strategies to provide interpretable results that can be useful to policymakers.

Teachers are generally frustrated and dissatisfied with their profession (McPherson, 1972; NEA, 1981). Research designed to alter the conditions that contribute to teachers' disillusionment with teaching is urgently needed to respond to this growing dissatisfaction; however, to improve teachers' sense of efficacy significantly, bold new conceptions of teaching and learning are needed. To achieve this aim, Bronfenbrenner (1976) recommended the design of "tranforming experiments, to radically restructure the environment, producing a new configuration that activates previously unrealized behavioral potentialities of the subject" (p. 14). Bronfenbrenner (1976) promoted the idea of the "transforming experiment," because of its scientific as well as social implications. From the perspective of science, the transforming experiment is a powerful approach, because it is an effective means for illuminating causal relationships, as noted by Lewin in his often-cited observation, "If you want to understand something, try to change it." From a social perspective, the transforming experiment has potential for discovering important, new approaches for fostering human development.

Before such bold experiments are likely to be supported, Bronfenbrenner (1976) advised that the basic philosophical approach to social science research must be altered:

> To the extent that we include ecological contexts in our research, we select and treat them as sociological givens rather than as evolving social systems susceptible to significant and novel transformation. Thus we study social class differences, ethnic differences, rural-urban differences--or, at the next level down, children from one-vs. two-parent homes, large vs. small families--as if the nature of these structures, and their developmental consequences, were eternally fixed and unalterable, except, perhaps, by violent revolution. We are loath to experiment with new social or educational forms as contexts for realizing human potential. "After all," we say, "you can't change human nature." This precept underlies our national stance on social and educational policy, and much of our educational science as well. (p. 14)

Brim and Kagan (1980) have noted that the American intellectual community has lent scientific support to the stoic acceptance of the status quo by its too ready acceptance of the assumption of constancy and stability in human development. Holding to this presupposition has led social scientists to accept as fact weak evidence supporting the belief in constancy. Commitment to this conviction has serious implications for the direction of research and social policy. As summarized by Brim and Kagan:

> If society believes that it is all over by the third year of life, it can deal harshly with many people in later life because nothing more can be done, and social programs designed to educate, redirect, reverse, or eliminate unwanted humna characteristics cannot be justified.

The failure to develop vigorous educational programs and research beyond the early school years is indicative of the negative effect that basic assumptions about human nature have had on research agenda and social policy. Brim and Kagan (1980) presented a large volume of research supporting research efforts to transform human experience. According to Brim and Kagan, the commitment of social scientists in the United States to the concepts of constancy and stability are currently unwarranted by the research literature.

Given the current educational scene, in which schools have been repeatedly indicted for their failure to make a significant impact on student achievement (Coleman et al., 1966) or equality of opportunity (Bowles & Gintis, 1976) and teachers are overcome with self-doubt, imaginative visions are needed to counteract the alienating rigidity of the educational status quo. Therefore, we recommend that researchers in collaboration with teachers engage in vigorous searches for promising "transforming experiments" to serve as educational antidotes to the anxiety and apathy that characterize the lives of many students and teachers in today's public schools.

Gross Categories vs. Specific Dimensions

If we are to design research with significant potential for transforming human experience the use of the broad, general categories of social class, race, sex, and so on, must be replaced by a search for the more specific modifiable variables that they subsume. For example, in a recent review article, Shade (1982) suggests that the "academic achievement deficit" of many black children is attributable to their preference for "sociocentric, field-dependent, nonanalytic categorizing information processing strategies" (p. 233). While adaptive for minority survival in the majority culture, their cognitive style places black children at a serious disadvantage, given traditional instructional strategies requiring an analytical information processing strategy. Research designed to investigate the effect of children's cognitive style preference on academic achievement will have direct implications for transforming children whereas research on the effect of race on achievement will not. Similarly, a study of the effect of specific child-rearing practices on school performance will have practical implications for educational improvement while studies of the effect of socioeconomic level on schooling do not.

In sum, effective transforming experiments will focus on specific, manipulable dimensions that offer the potential for significant development.

An Interdisciplinary Perspective

Most educational research has been conducted within the narrow perspective of psychological models. The limited effectiveness of this research in improving the quality of schooling may be, at least in part, attributable to the inadequacy of psychological interpretations for explaining teacher and student behavior. Eddy (1969) described the tendency of educational researchers to focus on the psychology of the teacher as the key to educational effectiveness:

> The educational research concerned with classroom dynamics has focused on the teacher's personality, background, and behavior as an important variable in the classroom but has seldom considered the social situation within which the classroom is found or the teacher's lack of power in the educational system. Similarly, teacher training institutions and programs devote most of their work to attempts to mold and change the behavior of teachers but comparatively little effort to change the educational system within which they work.

In order to develop "transforming experiments" that take into account the complex social realities impinging on teachers' sense of efficacy, research should be developed by interdisciplinary teams of researchers. Anthropology, sociology, organizational theory, economics and political science each offer valuable insights essential to an adequate understanding of the dynamics affecting teachers' sense of efficacy. Anthropology offers an awareness of the role of culture in influencing human behavior. George Spindler (1963) outlined the special contribution of anthropology to an adequate understanding of educational processes:

> The aim is to create in the teacher an awareness of how his culture influences specifically what he does as a teacher and how his students' culture influences what they do, and how to think about, observe and analyze these influences. Cultural awareness as one goal is particularly important for the administrator, since he manipulates the setting in which the teacher interacts with students and parents. He must not only display cultural awareness but must also understand the mechanics of culture change, the cultural expectations affecting the leader's role, the concrete as well as idealistic meaning of cultural values, and the social system of the school in the setting of the encompassing community and national social structure. (pp. 65-66)

Sociology offers social awareness, defined by Mannheim (1971) as

> the readiness to see the whole situation in which one finds oneself, and not only to orient one's actions on immediate tasks and purposes but to base them on a more comprehensive vision. (p. 374)

The danger of ignoring the influence of organizational structures on teacher and student behavior is vividly portrayed by Eddy (1969):

> The professional training of teachers often prepares them to accept the present organizational structure of the educational system as "natural" and something that cannot be changed. It is after all, the system in which many of them have been educated and which has proven successful for them and their teachers. By emphasizing techniques of education which are functional for the system and psychological interpretations of child behavior, the training tends to render teachers incapable of viewing themselves, their pupils, parents, school administrators, and the school itself withing the context of the community and society in which education supposedly takes place. In this way the professional ideology transmitted in the training school may perpetuate the traditions of a bureaucratic approach to education in an urban world which demands other approaches if children are to be educated and not merely managed. (p. 124)

Awareness of the political nature of schooling and the impact of politics on educational decision-making is critical to an understanding of the factors affecting teachers' sense of efficacy. Rist (1972) emphasized the importance of analysis of the politics of education in the process of seeking solutions to the problem of schooling:

> A crucial reason schools fail is that they neither recognize nor come to grips with the essential political nature of schooling in American society. Ignoring the political dimension of education and educational systems has placed an undue and misguided emphasis upon ameliorative approaches which assume that somehow the problems are external

> to the schools themselves. The parameters which define the schooling experience in this country are in large measure the result of various political decisions, from compulsory attendance to state certification of teachers and the curriculum they teach, to modes of citizen taxation and the location of the school buildings themselves. To assume that schooling is a consequence of a series of apolitical administrative decisions necessarily results in large and vital gaps in the analysis of the role and function of schools as an institution in American society. . . It does not take great insight to predict that attempts to alleviate the problems of schools based on the apolitical model outlined above would not provide the desired results. (pp. 8-9)

Thus, research comprehensive enough to represent the complex relationships between teachers' sense of efficacy and the context in which it develops requires an interdisciplinary perspective. In the pages that follow, we will suggest specific contexts that seem particularly appropriate for interdisciplinary, transforming experiments designed to increase teachers' sense of efficacy.

Teacher Efficacy and Teacher Education

Teacher efficacy, as measured by the Rand efficacy items, is at its highest during the time teachers are in preservice training in university settings. In a comparison of 61 preservice and 38 high school basic skills teachers, we found that the efficacy scores of preservice teachers were significantly higher than those of the inservice teachers (Rand Efficacy 1, $t = 5.06$, $p<.001$; Rand Efficacy 2, $t = 3.23$, $p<.005$).

It might be argued that this finding is indicative of the effectiveness of teacher education in inculcating positive attitudes towards teaching and one's ability to influence students. However, the rapid deterioration of efficacy during the first years of teaching experience suggests that efficacy is only weakly developed in teacher education programs. Teacher efficacy extinguishes so readily when exposed to the "reality shock" of real students that teacher educators need to devise "transforming experiments" to identify effective strategies for inoculating teachers against the ravages of the real-world classroom. A number of problems in teacher education that have implications for teacher efficacy have been identified in the literature. Identification of strategies to deal with these concerns may provide the basis for the design of "transforming" teacher education programs.

With high expectations, new teachers confront a classroom reality which gives them little feedback of success and much experience of failure. Current teacher education programs do not prepare teachers to cope with these threats to their professional self-esteem. In defense of their professional egos, teachers seek protection of their sense of efficacy through explanations that permit them to absolve themselves of responsibility for student failure.

Our Efficacy data offer strong support for this conclusion. When asked to explain why their students failed, the majority of our respondents attributed student failure to the student. (See page 23.) By placing total responsibility for failure on the student, teachers are likely to succumb to a sense of inefficacy or helplessness in overcoming student failure. Teacher education programs contribute to this tendency to blame the students by providing preservice teachers with psychological and sociological explanations for student failure that relieve the teacher of responsibility. In the next section, the role of psychology in contributing to teachers' sense of efficacy will be discussed, followed by recommendations for transforming teacher education experiments designed to enable teachers to overcome the beliefs that are likely to have a detrimental effect on their sense of efficacy.

Trait Psychology: An Impediment to Teacher Efficacy

One of the most studied topics in educational research in recent years has been the effect of teacher expectations on student achievement. Innumerable studies have reported a significant relationship between teachers' expectations and student achievement (Brophy & Good, 1974; McDermott, 1977; Rist, 1972; Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968). In our model of teacher efficacy, negative expectations derive from the teachers' sense of efficacy. To the extent that a teacher believes certain students cannot be motivated, expectations for those students will be reduced.

In a recent review of teacher expectation research, Good (1981) described a five-step model of how teacher expectations become translated into student behavior:

> 1. The teacher expects specific behavior and achievement from particular students.
> 2. Because of these varied expectations, the teacher behaves differently toward different students.
> 3. This treatment communicates to the students what behavior and achievement the teacher expects from them and affects their self-concepts, achievement motivation, and levels of aspiration.
> 4. If this treatment is consistent over time, and if the students do not resist or change it in some way, it will shape their achievement and behavior. High-expectation students will be led to achieve at high levels, whereas the achievement of low-expectation students will decline.
> 5. With time, students' achievement and behavior will conform more and more closely to the behavior originally expected of them. (p. 416)

Based on this model, research and teacher education programs have begun to emerge that are designed to increase student achievement and reduce educational inequities by making teachers aware of their differential treatment of students and training them to give all students equal opportunity to recite, ask questions, and to obtain teacher assistance and attention (Good, 1981). Such efforts are likely to be ineffective in discouraging teachers from developing and communicating negative expectations to students, unless the habitual process underlying the development of teacher expectations is confronted and counteracted.

Expectations of student behavior derive, in part, from teachers' habitual tendency to view students in terms of static, unchanging traits. "Johnny is lazy," "Mary is cooperative," Tommy is slow," "Janie is bright," "Sam is creative" are typical comments teachers make in describing their students. Such statements embody the teachers' assumptions about the consistency and predictability of human behavior.

Social psychological researchers have been unable to detect sufficient stability in human behavior to warrant such simplistic conclusions about human behavior (Brim & Kagan, 1980). But teachers are operating on a naive trait psychology that typifies the traditional Western mentality. Fritz Heider (1958) formalized this naive psychology in his work, The Psychology of Interpersonal Relations. Heider recognized that based on their experiences with others and the environment, individuals develop an intuitive psychology to reduce the complexity of human relations. With development, the identification of "dispositional properties," that is, traits, in individuals becomes a major means of reducing interpersonal complexity. If I am able to identify a personality trait on the basis of my experience with another, I can plan future interactions on the basis of that trait, thereby greatly reducing the uncertainties of my interaction with that person. Teachers take this habitual way of functioning, that is, ascribing traits to individuals and treating them as immutable, into the classroom and find that it is useful in reducing the complexities of human relations that confront them. In fact, research suggests that teaching experience increases teachers' tendency to be negatively influenced by biasing labels or traits (Foster, 1980).

Our own efficacy data provide considerable evidence of teachers' tendency to attribute behavior to stable traits. When we engaged teachers in analysis of the origins of their own behavior, they focused on a search for the traits that explain their behavior. For example, when we asked teachers what enabled them to be effective as teachers, the majority responded with personal traits, for example, "my intelligence, my creativity, my love of students," and when asked about what contributes to their ineffectiveness, they again responded with personal qualities, "my impatience, my disorganization."

The problem lies not in the concept of trait itself. The search for consistencies can help us explain behavior. The problem lies with the way we think about traits and the way they come to dominate our perceptions of others. In practical usage particularly among teachers, traits have lost their interactive, developmental nature and have become rigidified into "immutable traits." Much of the theoretical and research literature with which teachers are trained supports this tendency. Psychologists pay lip service to the notion of interaction and situational determinants of behavior, but our textbooks attest to our biases. A review of the majority of psychology and educational psychology texts will readily reveal that they are by and large organized by traits--like intelligence , self-concept, anxiety, locus of control, achievement motivation, and creativity. Only Bronfenbrenner (1979) has broken dramatically with this tradition in his recent book on human development.

Trait thinking among educational researchers leads to research that is inherently conservative. Rather than exploring ways to alter the ecology of the classroom and the school to enable children to overcome present problems, research tends to focus on questions that foster trait thinking and unquestioning acceptance of the status quo. Questions, such as what are the characteristics of problem students, or what are the characteristics of ineffective teachers, implicitly assume that the problems are inherent in the individuals. The overemphasis on identifying individual traits related to behavior prevents researchers from designing research capable of discovering more fundamental causes of student learning problems and perpetuates adversarial relationships in which administrators blame teachers, teachers blame students, and students blame themselves.

Supported by psychological theory and educational research, teachers accept the situation and classroom as given and deal with the types of students who respond poorly in these situations by classifying them with "psychological" labels, such as hyperactive or retarded or field dependent, or aggressive or passive, with a peculiar blindness to the possibility of changing the learning situation. Once the offending trait and its origin have been identified, teachers cease looking for explanations of the behavior, and depending on their energy, commitment, and belief regarding the immutability of traits, may attempt to identify ways to change Johnny--but the focus will be on what's the matter with Johnny rather than on what's the matter with the school situation that may contribute to his reading problem. Within this framework, the work of the teacher is to find out what a student is (introverted, mentally retarded, poverty-stricken, hyperactive, and so on) and then to fashion instruction which fits the student's being. Instruction is not meant to alter the child (traits, after all, are inalterable) but to help the student make the best of his or her situation. Teachers' naive psychology of human behavior buttressed by psychological theories that emphasize trait rather than situational interpretations of behavior lead teachers to a fatalistic acceptance of children's low achievement. Popular sociological explanations of the impact of socioeconomic class on educational achievement are also useful to teachers in relieving anxiety about their failure to motivate poverty students.

Thus, psychological and sociological perspectives provide teachers with "scientific" rationalizations of their failure with low-achieving students. Attributing school failure to students' personal inadequacies or a home circumstance beyond their control, teachers are not likely to overcome the tendency to react to students in terms of the negative expectations that such attributions engender.

If teacher education institutions are to be successful in enabling teachers to respond effectively to low-achieving students, they must attack directly the belief system, the intuitive psychology of teachers, that produces the negative expectations that contribute to the perpetuation of inequalities in educational opportunity.

Little is known about how to induce significant attitude change in the context of teacher education programs. The educational literature is replete with documentation of the failure of teacher education to influence teacher practices in the classroom (Jackson, 1968; Lortie, 1975). Teachers readily indict their teacher education courses for failing to prepare them for the realities of the classroom, for being too abstract and theoretical (that is, too idealistic) to be useful in guiding their classroom behavior. Teachers' assessment of their educational training as irrelevant and trivial offers a critical challenge to teacher educators to design experiments that transform ineffectual programs into experiences that enable teachers to cope with the exigencies of their work. Several ideas having potential for increasing the efficacy of teacher education will be proposed in the pages that follow.

Teacher Efficacy: A Central Organizing Construct for Teacher Education

The attitude change program developed by McClelland (1965) could be adapted to form the basis of a teacher education program with the potential to provide an effective challenge to the naive psychological beliefs of the stability of ability that reduce teachers' beliefs in their ability to motivate their low-achieving students. According to McClelland (1965), four components are essential to effect change in attitudes and motivation:

(1) conceptualization of the attitude
(2) self-study in relation to the attitude
(3) planning and goal-setting
(4) group support

In an article in 1978, McClelland indicated that a number of motivational change studies incorporating the four components have been effective in producing significant contributions to "social betterment," including raising the standard of living of the poor, facilitating compensatory education, and improving business management. Of special relevance to the issue of teachers' efficacy is the motivation change project conducted by deCharms (1976). In his study, deCharms trained teachers to facilitate their students' sense of personal causation, that is, their feeling of being in charge and responsible for their own behavior. The success of deCharms' approach was evidenced by the fact that in the control group of poverty children, scores on the Iowa Test of Basic Skills (ITBS) declined from grades six to eight, while in his experimental group of poverty children, scores began to approach the age norms for the ITBS.

The power of self-study, goal-setting, and group support to generate significant and long-term change has been demonstrated. But these elements have not been systematically applied in the development of a teacher education program. Training programs, using McClelland's model, have typically been intensive, short-term interventions. If these components were adapted to develop a strong sense of teacher efficacy and incorporated programatically into the two-to-three year experience of preservice teachers, it is possible that they could provide the powerful inoculation teachers need to sustain their sense of efficacy through the frustrations and disappointments of classroom teaching.

Conceptualization of the attitude. While our understanding of the impact of attitudes on behavior is limited, it is clear that attitudes do influence behavior (Weiner, 1980). However, the relationship between attitude and behavior varies depending on the individual's awareness and commitment to the belief. Attitudes can be expected to correlate highly with behavior only in situations in which the individual has a well-organized conception of the attitude and how it relates to behavior and is committed to action derived from the belief (Snyder, 1977). For this reason, it is not surprising that the relationships that we obtained between teachers' sense of efficacy and their behavior were only of moderate magnitude. If teachers are only vaguely aware of their beliefs regarding their sense of efficacy, have not thought through the behaviors that are consistent with their beliefs and have only weak commitment to their low-achieving students, the relationship between their reported sense of efficacy and their classroom behaviors is likely to be weak. Consequently, a teacher education program designed to help teachers clarify their efficacy beliefs, develop a well-organized conception of how these beliefs would be represented in behavior, within the context of a collegial group supportive of students' developing commitment and enthusiasm for efficacy beliefs should result in increased relationships between efficacy beliefs and teacher behavior.

From our analysis of TAT-type responses of our middle school teachers (see Appendix P) identified as high and low efficacy on the Rand measure, we identified the following dimensions that distinguish the high from the low efficacy teachers:

(1) A Sense of Personal Accomplishment

Teachers with a high sense of efficacy feel that their work with students is important and meaningful; they feel that they indeed have a positive impact on student learning.

Teachers with a low sense of efficacy feel frustrated and discouraged about teaching. They feel that they are not making a difference in their students' lives and question the value of their work.

(2) Positive Expectations for Student Behavior and Achievement

Teachers with a high sense of efficacy expect students to progress and, for the most part, find that students fulfill their expectations.

Teachers with a low sense of efficacy expect their students to fail, to react negatively to their teaching effort, to misbehave.

(3) Personal Responsibility for Student Learning

Teachers with a high sense of efficacy feel that it is their responsibility to see that children learn, and when their students experience failure they examine their own performance for ways they might have been more helpful.

Teachers with a low sense of efficacy place the responsibility for learning on their students, and, when they fail, they look for explanations in terms of the students' ability, family background, motivation, or attitude.

(4) Strategies for Achieving Objectives

Teachers with a high sense of efficacy plan for student learning. They set goals for themselves and their students and identify strategies to achieve them.

Teachers with a low sense of efficacy tend to lack specific goals for their students. They are uncertain about what they would like their students to achieve and do not plan teaching strategies according to identifiable goals.

(5) Positive Affect

Teachers with a high sense of efficacy feel good about teaching, about themselves, and their students. They are enthusiastic about their students' progress.

Teachers with a low sense of efficacy are frustrated with teaching and often express discouragement and negative feelings when talking about their work with students

(6) Sense of Control

Teachers with a high sense of efficacy are confident that they are able to influence student learning.

Teachers with a low sense of efficacy experience a sense of futility in working with students, often expressing the feeling that no matter how hard they try, they are unable to influence or motivate many of their students.

(7) Sense of Common Teacher-Student Goals

Teachers with a high sense of efficacy feel that they are involved in a joint venture with students to achieve goals that they share in common.

Teachers with a low sense of efficacy feel that they are engaged in a struggle with students whose goals and concerns are in opposition to theirs. While they are concerned about teaching and student achievement, they feel that their students are interested in avoiding work and resisting their efforts at motivation.

(8) Democratic Decision-Making

> Teachers with a high sense of efficacy involve students in decision-making regarding goals and strategies for achieving them.
>
> Teachers with a low sense of efficacy impose their decision regarding goals and learning strategies on students without involving them in the process of decision-making.

These dimensions could form the basic structure for designing a McClelland-type teacher education program firmly grounded in self-analysis of sense of efficacy. In fact, sense of efficacy, defined in its more general sense, as teachers' beliefs about their ability to perform all the duties comprising the teacher role, could form the organizing framework for the design of the total teacher educational program.

The Philosophical Foundation. If an attitude is to assume an influential and consistent role in a person's life, its relationship to other beliefs and its implications for behavior must be clearly conceived. Thus, an adequate understanding of the attitude of efficacy involves more than a delineation of the dimensions underlying the construct. It must also include analysis of the philosophical foundations of efficacy beliefs and the behaviors consistent with a sense of efficacy. In this section, the philosophical foundation for a teacher educaton program designed to develop sense of efficacy will be proposed.

To provide the intellectual support for a strong sense of efficacy, a teacher education program would need to introduce and foster commitment to conceptions of ability that recognize the human potential for growth and development. Teachers' belief in intelligence as a fixed and stable trait is one of the most serious obstacles to increasing their sense of efficacy. The pervasiveness of this belief in the educational system and its obstruction of the goal of equalizing educational opportunity werenoted by Brookover and Erickson (1969):

> The assumption of fixed ability continues to dominate the practice and organization of American education. The emphasis on the identification of people with various learning "abilities" or "talents," and through this the selection of people for various types of education and training, have overshadowed any efforts in American schools to cultivate the appropriate social climates or environments which would develop the academic abilities of children in appropriate fields. The emphasis is, therefore, on identifying and selecting so that the round pegs are appropriately placed in the round holes, rather than on creating the appropriate environment and providing the experience that would produce the kind of citizens needed in a highly technical and literate society. . . In most discussions of the goals of education, educational leaders tend to emphasize the importance of educating the individual to the limits of his capacity. . . we have no vocabulary which posits the concept of change or expansion or development of intelligence

> through the creation of appropriate environmental experiences. The concept of a varying and pliable learning ability is therefore very difficult to introduce, and it is not easy for us to comprehend such an idea without a vocabulary with which to discuss it. . . Prior to the advent of the concept of intelligence, the responsibility for failure to learn in school was ascribed to either the child's willful abstinence or the teacher's incompetence. The concept of fixed and limited intelligence excused both from any responsibility. (pp. 5-9)

Dewey's (1939) conception of creative intelligence could be very effective in combatting the sense of fatalism induced by teachers' naive psychology, if it were used as the philsophical underpinning of a teacher education program based on the development of teachers' sense of efficacy:

> Dewey believed intelligence is largely a social product. He did not see it as a native capacity but rather as a habit of mind which must be learned in interaction with others. Intelligence involves powers of observation that allow individuals to recognize and define problems. It involves reasoning and judgment. It demands that we learn from experience and put what is learned in our stock of knowledge where it can be called on when needed in the future. (Webb, 1981, p. 29)

If teachers were encouraged to abandon the naive notion of intelligence as a fixed trait and began to see themselves as responsible for providing experiences to their students that could develop or inhibit the growth of intelligence, teachers would be unable to absolve themselves of responsibility by attributing student failure to low ability. One way to instill a sense of responsibility for developing students' intelligence is through teachers' role definition of their job.

The Need for a Powerful Role Definition--Teacher as Change Agent. Teachers' perceptions of appropriate role-related behavior have a particularly powerful effect on teachers' sense of efficacy. In an effort to determine "why teachers are so dissatisfied with themselves, so discontented, and so ineffectual," McPherson documented the subtle yet potent influence of role expectations and pressures that shaped the attitudes and behaviors of the teachers who were her colleagues in a small school in a northeastern town (McPherson, 1972, p. 13). The focus of McPherson's analysis was on the teacher role-set, that is, the

> cluster of changing, often conflicting pressures. . . which make it impossible for all but the most unusual teacher in the public schools to "teach," to do other than show children how to fail, to do other than push the children into the accepted mold and damage in more or less serious ways the ones who do not fit. (p. 12)

Insight into the processes contributing to teachers' failure to maintain their idealism and enthusiasm is provided in a study conducted by Johnson, Baldwin, and Wiley (1969). In an experimental teaching situation, Johnson et al. found that in contrast to college students, experienced teachers did not tend to view themselves as strong causal agents of the performance of students they had instructed; they attributed most of the causation underlying the pupils' performance to factors internal to the students themselves. A very dramatic change in performance was required before the teachers assumed responsibility for the student's performance. Johnson et al. concluded that teachers do not perceive much of a causal relationship between their behavior and their students' intellectual performance, while they do assume responsibility for classroom management. Johnson et al. attributed this result to the "rapid flux" (Smith & Geoffrey, 1968) of the classroom situation which makes it very difficult to isolate relationships between specific instructional activities and students' achievement; while relationships between the teacher's classroom management behaviors and students' compliance are more readily observed. This inability to see causal relationships between instruction and achievement, coupled with a belief in stable traits of ability and potential, may account for the finding that in many urban schools with low income children the teacher's primary focus is on the socialization of compliance behavior rather than on substantive learning (Cohen, 1972).

Research is needed to identify ways in which teacher education programs can promote development of a strong role definition of teaching that can help teachers withstand the conflicting pressures that lead many teachers to succumb to a sense of helplessness. Development of successful programs is dependent upon prior research that identifies the specific pressures and contradictory role expectations that lead to a low sense of efficacy. Role theory with its emphasis upon "the processes and phases of socialization, interdependences among individuals, the characteristics and organization of social positions, processes of conformity and sanctioning, specialization of performance and the division of labor" can provide a framework for initial design of research and teacher education experiences to support teachers' sense of efficacy (Biddle & Thomas, 1966, p. 17). A conceptual model derived from role theory could enable teachers to analyze the conflicting pressures on their sense of efficacy and identify methods of coping with them. On the basis of such a model, inservice and preservice teachers could be engaged in experiences that encourage a strong role definiton of the teacher as a potent motivator of student learning.

The Behavioral Connection: Teacher-Student Relationships. Attitudes are of interest because of their role in influencing behavior. Consequently, an adequate conceptualization of an attitude must include a description of the behavioral correlates associated with the attitude. Similarly, if teachers' understanding of their sense of efficacy is to have practical value, they must be aware of how it affects their behavior. In both our quantitative and qualitative observations of middle and high school teachers, the primary difference between high and low efficacy teachers was in teacher-student relationships. High efficacy teachers maintained more positive, accepting relationships with their students. Our observations offer support to McDermott's (1977) contention that a trusting relationship between teacher and student is a prerequisite for effective teaching and learning. However, McDermott's conception of trust highlights the vulnerability of teacher's sense of efficacy:

> I am talking about trust as a quality of the relations among people, as a product of the work they do to achieve a shared focus. Trust is achieved and managed through interaction. . . It takes constant effort for two or more people to achieve trusting relations, and the slightest lag in that work can demand extensive remedial efforts. . . Trust is not a property of persons but a product of the work people do to achieve trusting relations, given particular institutional contexts. (p. 199)

Thus, teachers must be ever vigilant in their interactions with students, if they are to maintain the trusting relationship that supports student learning and, thereby, sustains their sense of effficay.

The second major difference in classroom interaction observed between high and low efficacy teachers was the greater openness of the high efficacy teacher to student ideas and feelings. The high efficacy teacher was more likely to accept students' suggestions and initiations and, in response, their students were more enthusiastic and spontaneous in their classroom interactions. The interactions that we observed between high efficacy teachers and their students seem to correspond to the description of the origin classroom climate recommended by deCharms (1976) and Deci (1975) as likely to foster motivation and self-efficacy in students.

In order for teacher efficacy to be more than simply an ideology teachers can articulate, a teacher education program designed to foster teacher efficacy must include training experiences enabling preservice students to develop the human relations skills essential for establishing and maintaining trusting relations and encouraging autonomy in students. A particularly important aspect of the human relations skills needed by teachers to enhance their sense of efficacy is the ability to maintain supportive attitudes when students become hostile and express negative feelings toward the teacher. Brophy and Evertson (1981) observed that teachers tend to engage in consistently negative (rejecting) response patterns with hostile students, creating a "mutual negativism" that renders teachers ineffectual with such students. Specific educational experiences are needed to sensitize teachers to the harm inflicted on the teacher-student relationship and the student's potential for learning when they are rejecting and hostile to students, and alternative approaches to expressing frustration and anger in constructive ways that do not endanger the relationship should be taught.

Context-Based Teacher Education: A Structure for Goal-Setting. From our analysis of teacher interviews, it is clear that teacher efficacy is highly dependent upon the specific teaching situation. Teachers may feel quite confident about their ability to motivate certain behaviors or some students while feeling less competent with others. Consequently, students in teacher education programs are in need of training that provides a wide range of experience in the many contexts they are likely to confront as teachers. Recognizing the "multimethod, multiperson, multisituation, multivariable" (Smith, 1978) nature of teaching, Tikunoff and Ward (1978) recommended a "context-based" approach to teacher education in which a student teacher's performance would be analyzed in terms of the multiple contexts of teaching. A serious attempt to develop a context-based approach to teacher education would require a systematic analysis of the tasks and responsibilities of teaching, and the development of a hierarchy of skills, such that students would be gradually introduced into the role of teaching in terms of the difficulty level of the skills and contexts involved. The hierarchy of skills could form the basis for the goal-setting and self-evaluation with regard to efficacy that McClelland has contended is essential to the motivation change process.

Like Lortie (1975) and Jackson (1968), we found that teachers tend to be surprisingly unreflective about their work. It was not uncommon for them to comment that they had never thought about the issues we raised with them (see Appendix S, p. 479). Popular conceptions of teachers' thinking as a rational decision-making process represent a goal to be achieved rather than an accurate depiction of the typical behavior of classroom teachers. Langer (1978) suggested that "most behavior may be enacted without paying attention to it, even complex social interaction" (p. 38). Teaching seems to be among the behaviors that are often conducted in a habitual rather than reflective manner. Jackson (1968) argued that the demands of the classroom virtually require spontaneous, nondeliberative behavior from teachers:

> The personal qualities enabling teachers to withstand the demands of classroom life have never been adequately described. But among those qualities is surely the ability to tolerate the enormous amount of ambiguity, unpredictability, and occasional chaos created each hour by 25 or 30 not-so-willing learners. What is here called the conceptual simplicity evident in teachers' language may be related to that ability. If teachers sought a more thorough understanding of their world, insisted on greater rationality in their actions, were completely open-minded in their consideration of pedagogical choices, and profound in their view of the human condition, they might well receive greater applause from intellectuals, but it is doubtful that they would perform with greater efficiency in the classroom. (p. 149)

While Jackson (1968) is no doubt correct that spontaneity and ability to act decisively is essential during the interactive phase of teaching, teachers are not adequately trained in the reflective, self-analytical thinking necessary for effective planning. Teachers' failure to think analytically is, in large measure, attributable to their preference for a field-dependent cognitive style in dealing with the environment (Witkin, Moore, Goodenough, & Cox, 1977); that is, they tend to respond intuitively rather than analytically to problem situations. As a result of their field-dependent style, teachers are likely to assume a passive, spectator approach to problem-solution rather than an active hypothesis-testing approach (Witkin et al., 1977).

A context-based program in which teachers are encouraged to analyze the specific aspects of their teaching performance in relation to the context in which it occurs would enable teachers to develop a more analytical approach to their teaching. Trained to engage in context-specific self-analysis, teachers would have a powerful technique for identifying the sources of their sense of inefficacy. Operating from an analytical perspective, teachers would be less likely to succumb to a sense of helplessness due to the inability to isolate the factors contributing to their feelings of inefficacy.

As part of the development of teachers' analytical thinking processes, techniques would be needed that enable teachers-in-training to evaluate their effectiveness. As indicated in Chapter 7, a major influence on teachers' sense of efficacy is the uncertainty most teachers feel about whether or not they are having an effect on student learning. Simple and specific procedures for self-evaluation of their effectiveness are needed. The contextual hierarchy of skills devised to organize the students' program would provide an outline of skills to be evaluated. Since our research suggests that teachers evaluate their effectiveness in relation to the effectiveness of other teachers, it would be important to provide teachers with frequent opportunities to observe and compare themselves with the performance of others, so that a realistic standard of comparison could be developed. (See Chapter 4, pp. 99-102.)

Group Support. Lortie (1975) noted that in their education programs teachers did not have the experiences they needed to enable them to provide collegial support for each other to combat the negative influences of classroom isolation and uncertainties about personal teaching effectiveness. Strong student groups organized to provide peer support to bolster enthusiasm and maintenance of teachers' sense of efficacy could serve as the training in establishing collegial relationships that Lortie felt was missing in traditional teacher education programs. As suggested in McClelland's motivation change program, group support for the concept of creative intelligence and the role definition of teacher as change agent and context-based self-evaluation may be helpful in maintaining motivation and commitment to a strong sense of efficacy.

Organizational Approaches to Increasing Teachers' Sense of Efficacy

The recommendations proposed for the design of transforming experiments have up to this point been focused on transforming the teacher. However, our analysis suggests that the major contributors to teachers' sense of inefficacy are organizational and structural. To focus exclusively on changing the teacher, leaving the structural organization of the school intact, is not likely to have an enduring effect on teachers' sense of efficacy. If structural supports are not devised to provide teachers with the collegial, supervisory, community and economic assistance required to resist the many challenges to sense of efficacy, efforts to change teachers' attitudes and behaviors toward their students are likely to have only transitory effects, at best. In the following sections, a number of the most debilitating structural factors influencing teachers' sense of efficacy are discussed, and suggestions for transforming them through imaginative research endeavors are considered.

Socialization of Teachers into the Profession

Perhaps the most powerful negative influence on new teachers' sense of efficacy is the informal process by which experienced teachers socialize new teachers into their professional role (Lortie, 1975). Hargreaves (1972) identified five teacher norms that exert pressure on new teachers to lower their expectations of themselves and their students: (1) autonomy, (2) loyalty to the staff group, (3) mediocrity, (4) cynicism, and (5) a degree of anti-intellectualism. In Hargreaves' study, new teachers who arrived early, obviously worked hard, and stayed late were subjected to teasing from the more experienced staff. New teachers quickly learned that public enthusiasm and effort violated the school norms for appropriate teacher behavior.

In her study of 22 beginning teachers in an urban slum area, Eddy (1969) applied the anthropological concept of "rites of passage" to the official and covert socialization practices used by experienced teachers to induct newcomers into the teaching profession. In Eddy's study, teachers became socialized to the norm that the most important sign of success as a teacher is

> . . .a classroom of pupils who follow elaborate ritualistic patterns of behavior which express their subordinate position. . . the solutions [to instructional problems] of the old-timers stress the importance of keeping pupils quietly occupied and forcing them to respond to the activities of teachers, the common belief is that teachers can teach and pupils can learn only when pupil-initiated activities toward other pupils and the teachers, are stopped. Those pupils who do not sit silently at their desks, listen to what teachers say, and do the work assigned to them not only cannot be taught but do not deserve to be. (pp. 44 and 118)

Beginners pressured by more experienced teachers to "control their classes" by whatever means necessary often alienate themselves from their students, thus initiating the process that leads inevitably to the deterioration of their sense of efficacy.

The need for effective socialization processes to combat the ever-present threats to new teachers' sense of efficacy is dramatized in Fuchs' (1969) description of the symptoms of "culture shock" typically experienced by new teachers in the first weeks on the job:

> With few exceptions, beginning teachers during their first days and weeks in their classrooms exhibit symptoms of severe emotional and physical stress . . . Most of us are aware of the tensions and strains accompanying unfamiliar routines or activities . . . However, the symptoms expressed by beginning teachers . . . go far beyond the ordinary fatigue associated with a new mode of employment. They are surprisingly similar to the phenomenon described by anthropologists as "culture shock." . . . One of the symptoms is a ludicrous tendency to raise one's voice to a shout when one finds a foreigner unable to understand simple English. How many new teachers exhibit this same tendency to shout at their youngsters. Other reactions include numbing fatigue, anger against the strangers confronting one, or a frenzied retreat into the familiar. There is often, in addition, a feeling of helplessness and a desire for company of one's own kind. . . For the new teacher, the first few weeks spent in the school are critical, for her attitude toward the children and her occupation can be set positively or negatively during this time. Contempt for the children is one unfortunate possibility. Other reactions may result in serious self-doubt, resulting in the abandonment of teaching completely. (pp. 21-22)

In light of the traumatic effect that the first weeks of teaching can have on teachers' sense of efficacy, the process of teacher socialization seems to be a particularly important area for research collaboration between teachers and teacher educators. Clearly, current informal processes of socialization tend to be detrimental to the enthusiasm and idealism of the new teacher. Fuchs (1969) argued for formal socialization processes involving the teacher education institutions to combat the debilitating influences of classroom culture shock.

> Too frequently the teacher is claimed by those who basically have no respect for the poor and their children, who accept rationalizations for the failure of the institution to achieve ideal goals, and who operate as bureaucratic functionaries rather than as educators. Thus, the claiming institution, the school in which the teacher actually works, has a responsbility to be aware of its function to provide the beginning teacher with a constructive educational milieu in which to develop professional competence . . .those concerned with the preparation of teachers need to recognize that only with strong and consistent support from the teacher education institution during the beginner's period of induction into her position as teacher can those who enter schools in the ghettos and slums translate and stabilize their ideals into practices

> which can contribute to the revitalization of education for the children of the inner city. . . The power of the employing school, its bureaucratic structure and procedures, and the status system among teachers--based primarily upon tenure--tend to cause the neophyte teacher to modify and in some instances to abandon whatever she was taught during her pre-service education. For this reason, the teacher education institution which hopes that its graduates will realize in their teaching practices the principles, attitudes, and methods it advocates must be prepared to invest a major portion of its expertise and efforts in intensive programs for new teachers in service. (pp. 214-215)

Based on his study of teacher socialization in Great Britain, Lacey (1977) suggested that socialization should be conceptualized as a "complex, interactive, negotiated, provisional process" (p. 22). Lacey's approach to socialization reflects the need for collaboration among teacher educators, experienced and beginning teachers and other school officials to design experiments to transform the teacher socialization process into a supportive function that offers protection to teachers' sense of efficacy when threatened by the difficult realities of the school.

Problem areas needing special attention in the design of effective socialization strategies include the following: (1) how to reduce the responsibilities of beginning teachers to enable them to assume teaching responsibilities gradually, avoiding the trauma of the abrupt transition from student to full-time teacher, (2) how to foster teachers' analysis of classroom experiences to enable them to maintain their motivation and enthusiasm and that of their students, (3) how to create professional, collegial relations among new and experienced teachers that support rather than discourage their sense of efficacy, (4) how to design evaluation strategies that bolster rather than threaten teachers' sense of efficacy, (5) how to sensitize teachers to the social and cultural forces that impact on the school, endangering their sense of efficacy.

Collegial Commitment and Student Decision-Making

Lortie (1975) pointed out that the major rewards teachers can expect from teaching are psychic, primarily the satisfaction derived from feeling responsible for student learning and the appreciation that students express to teachers for their help. Unfortunately, most teachers are disappointed to find that such feelings are much rarer than they expected; appreciative, responsive students are the exception not the rule in urban classrooms. The rarity of the motivated student is due, in part, to the few psychic rewards that the urban school offers students, particularly poverty students.

The alienation felt by poverty students, especially poor minority students, is a major obstacle to successful teaching (Metz, 1978). Students resist teachers' efforts with hostility, and passive or active aggression, because they find no personal rewards to be gained by their educational endeavors. In fact, if they try and fail, they risk irrefutable proof of their inability and if they succeed, they risk rejection by their peers and loss of social status. Faced with the hopelessness of fulfilling their aspirations for the future by the disheartening evidence of their families' circumstances, children of poverty may understandably react with anger at the injustice of the school system that perpetuates inequality by rewarding the children of plenty and ignoring or punishing children of poverty. Metz suggests that only by developing these students' commitment to the school can teachers hope to overcome the alienation that deprives them of the sense of efficacy that would make teaching worthwhile. Individual teachers working alone cannot make the impact needed to change the inertia of student alienation; school faculties must form a consensus committed to the objective of developing a sense of educational purpose and commitment among the hostile, the angry, the apathetic, the alienated. To reach these disenchanted requires a school-wide effort to provide rewards for learning for students who in the past have seen no benefit in their academic effort. For students as for teachers there must be reward for their efforts. Thus, Metz (1978) recommends that teachers must first convince their students of the value in academic efforts either by starting with strategies and goals that match the needs and interests of the students as they are or by creating interests and needs in the students that can be met by academic effort. To overcome student resistance, however, teachers must develop an extensive program of communication between faculty and students, which gives students a role in educational decision-making; in addition, teachers must be united in their commitment to the process and be willing to experiment and accept legitimate student challenges.

Teacher Efficacy and Educational Bureaucracy and the Illusion of Professional Autonomy

The high incidence of student alienation may be, in large part, a reaction to teacher alienation. When teachers are enthusiastic and committed to student learning, it is difficult for students to remain hostile and aloof. Given the large numbers of teachers who seem to have lost their enthusiasm for teaching and the contagious effect that their apathy is certain to have on their students' attitudes, it is crucial to identify the factors that contribute to teacher alienation.

Teachers enter the profession with expectations that they will exercise responsibility, self-determination, and professional autonomy (Anderson, 1968). Confronted with school and district regulations regarding curriculum materials and administrative procedures, teachers are likely to be surprised and upset by the number of bureaucratic constraints restricting their "professional autonomy." Status insecurity (see Chapter 8 of this report) and self-doubt induced by uncertainty about their effectiveness (see Chapter 7 of this report) interact to induce teacher conformity to the bureaucratic regulations of the school (Anderson, 1968; Presthus, 1960).

Organizational theory (Merton, 1957) suggests that when bureaucratic constraints become oppressive, organization members are likelv to lose sight of the primary aims of the organization in favor of an unquestioning adherence to the means of attaining them--a phenomenon referred to as "goal displacement." In such circumstances, rules are likely to be applied rigidly with no consideration of their appropriateness for the specific situation, and organization members will tend to assume an impersonal, even condescending attitude toward clients. Rigid adherence to rules and fear of the consequences of violating them reduce the likelihood that teachers will risk the dangers of innovation. In this way, many teachers develop a "bureaucratic mentality," characterized by their resistance to change, treating students impersonally, and emphasizing procedures and routines for their own sake rather than for the purposes they were intended to serve. The pervasiveness of the bureaucratic mentality of teachers was captured in a study of teacher behavior in first and fifth grade classrooms by Blumenfeld, Hamilton, Bossert, Wessels, and Meece (1980).

> . . .our data so far indicate that it is the everyday demands of the institution rather than the long-term goal of socializing that receive emphasis in teacher communication to children about the student role. The teacher is a manager of activities and immediate institutional imperatives of conducting those activities and preventing chaos override what might be ideal-typical socializing practices. Instead, the teacher is a manager who mainly reacts, and reacts to things she does not like. Those things are mostly violations of the procedures that probably must be maintained if the show is to go on. Relatively rarely, and primarily when spurred by a negative event, is the teacher prompted to provide further socializing information involving her expectations, attributions of causality, or sanctions themselves. The student is essentially a socializee who absorbs on-the-job experience geared to passive citizenship in an ongoing institution. (p. 50)

Thus, the institutional expectations of the teacher and student roles force the teacher into a managerial role rather than the instructional role the teacher expected on entering the profession. Blumenfeld et al. conclude that perhaps this is not a negative outcome:

> The teacher who focuses on the central task to be done, who emphasizes issues of effort, who insists on keeping on task--such a teacher produces students more convinced of the importance of the central academic aspects of the role. The citizenship thus presented might be a relatively passive one, but the scholarship will get accomplished. Such a picture is probably relatively similar to that of a good manager in any area. The American school is thus much like the American factory, in that the small workers whose product is themselves need good managers in order either to turn out a good product or to care about the production process. (p. 55)

Our research on teacher efficacy cannot support the Blumenfeld et. al. conclusion. The factory production model has failed to provide a sustaining sense of efficacy to factory workers and managers (Bramel & Friend, 1981) and is even less likely to promote a sense of efficacy in teachers and students (Wise, 1979). Teachers tend to enter teaching with strong social needs and expectations (Holland, 1973). When these needs are frustrated and they find they must assume an impersonal attitude with students to maintain the bureaucratic rules of the institution, teachers experience a loss of the sense of control essential to their motivation (Deci, 1975). This loss of control, similar to the loss of control experienced by factory managers and workers, culminates in teachers' alienation from their students.

In a perceptive analysis of the implications of the results of the "Effective schools" research, Cohen (1981) suggested that several alternative interpretations of the data can be defended. Effective schools were found to have

> (1) strong administrative leadership of the school principal, especially in regard to instructional matters;
>
> (2) a school climate conducive to learning; that is, a safe and orderly school relatively free of discipline and vandalism problems;
>
> (3) schoolwide emphasis on basic skills instruction (which entails acceptance among the professional staff that instruction in the basic skills is the primary goal of the school);
>
> (4) teacher expectations that all students, regardless of family background, can reach appropriate levels of achievement;
>
> (5) a system for monitoring and assessing pupil performance which is tied to instructional objectives. (p. 59)

These factors, Cohen suggested, could be characteristic of an effective bureaucracy or, alternatively, an effective community based on the principles of shared values. Many theorists have argued that the characteristics of bureaucracy are inimical to effective schooling (Buford, 1968; Goodman, 1970). From the answers of the teachers in our study to the question, "What gives you the most satisfaction from work?" it is clear that more than anything else teachers want positive relationships with students. The impersonal norm of the bureaucracy is antithetical to the personal concern for individuals that prompts most teachers' choice of teaching as a profession. The good teacher-student relations essential for teachers to maintain a high sense of efficacy are in serious jeopardy in the bureaucratic realities of the urban school. Thus, it seems untenable to conclude that the success of the schools described in the Effective Schools research is attributable to effective bureaucratic functioning of those schools. It is more likely that the success is due to the shared values, the sense of mission that unites and empowers a community.

From their study of teacher burnout, Farber and Miller (1981) concluded that teachers' dissatisfaction is often attributable to the school organizational factors that lead to a lack of a "psychological sense of community - a lack that produces feelings on the part of teachers of both isolation and inconsequentiality" (p. 238). In a focused ethnography of four relatively successful and two relatively unsuccessful schools, Little (1982) described a number of organizational characteristics conducive to the development of a sense of community and shared work. Norms of collegiality and experimentation prevailed in the successful schools, while the unsuccessful schools were more often characterized by isolation. Little concluded that continuous professional development is dependent on four critical practices:

(1) frequent, concrete, precise, coherent discussions about teaching practice (thus, building a shared language of teaching);

(2) mutual observation and critique;

(3) shared efforts to design and evaluate curriculum; and

(4) shared participation in the process of instructional improvement.

In summary, our analysis of teacher attitudes toward their school organization suggests that the bureaucratic structure of most public educational institutions is a major factor in the alienation of teachers from their students. If teachers are to regain a sense of efficacy, efforts must be made to transform the impersonal bureaucratic school structure into a living community of committed individuals with a sense of mission with shared goals and shared responsibilities for decision-making.

Our description of the middle school in Chapter 3 outlines some ways that a sense of community can be fostered, including the following: (1) principal leadership in promoting shared goals and a sense of mission; (2) team planning and team teaching; (3) collegial decision-making; (4) multi-age, multi-ability grouping of students; and (5) involvement of students in curriculum planning.

The typical urban public school offers teachers only the illusion of professional autonomy, but teachers' need to maintain a sense of professional self-worth encourages them to accept the illusion as real and submit to the bureaucratic constraints imposed by the institution. Individual teachers acting alone are unable to influence the bureaucracy in significant ways. The most hopeful approach for teachers to gain a real sense of control over their professional lives is through concerted effort through their professional organizations. To date, these organizations have not offered bold proposals for enriching the professional lives of teachers. Retsinas (1982) offers limited hope that teacher unions may be able to wrench a modicum of control for teachers -- as a concession when fiscal demands cannot be met. However, she concluded that the concessions of control are likely to be minimal, given the bureaucratic structure of education, for after all:

> Teachers are proletarian professionals. They have bargained for economic concessions, as well as concessions of control. At the bargaining tables, teachers are unlikely to win major economic gains, but they may win control. That voice in policy, however, is weak. It will not be sufficient to transform schools into models of worker democracy, with teachers running the educational systems in which they work. Similarly, unions of social workers, librarians, and nurses may, like teachers, win input into policy. In and of itself, however, that input will neither erode the democratic mandate, nor redress workers' alienation. For proletarian professionals, collective bargaining victories may be only a half-step in winning substantive job control.(pp. 369-370)

Collaborative efforts of schools of education, teacher organizations, and school districts could result in transforming experiments designed to challenge the educational status quo. John Dewey (1939) proposed such a model for sustaining teacher professionalism, but it has yet to be put to rigorous test in the urban school district. Dewey believed that his conception of human intelligence could be fostered in institutions that "allow all those affected by [the social institution to] have a share in producing and managing them"(p. 401).

While perhaps not feasible on a large-scale, a small-scale transforming experiment that allows teachers the autonomy and responsibility they expected to assume when they chose teaching as a profession and that provides them with the time and resources and expert support they need to maintain their sense of efficacy may provide the evidence the public needs to regain confidence in education. Successful transforming experiments could provide the impetus for greater support and commitment to education, thus, enabling the experiments to then be carried out on a grander scale.

Teacher Efficacy and Parent-Teacher Relations

A major source of teachers' sense of inefficacy is their relations with the families of low-achieving students. As teachers engage in interactions with parents that have negative outcomes, they feel less effective as teachers, and their resulting low sense of professional self-esteem reduces their willingness to risk further loss of esteem in future interactions with parents. After such experiences, teachers are likely to decide to protect their remaining sense of efficacy from further assault by ceasing to initiate contact with parents; thus, the process of alienation is complete.

As long as teachers feel alienated from the families of their students, they will experience a serious threat to their sense of efficacy.

The lack of information and training helpful in facilitating relations between poverty families and the classroom teachers is reflected in the attitudes typically expressed by middle-class teachers. Our interviews with teachers provide sad testimony that most middle-class teachers continue to operate on the basis of the impoverished stereotype of the poor family as uncaring and unsupportive of the educational needs of children. Such stereotypes breed alienation between teacher and student and between teacher and family and ultimately between student and family.

In a perceptive analysis of the conflictual relations between parents and teachers, Lightfoot (1978) identified the problem as misperceptions between parents and teachers rather than conflicting values:

> The literature shows overwhelmingly that blacks (regardless of social status) universally view education as the most primising means for attaining high socioeconomic status. The dissonance between black parents and teachers, therefore, does not lie in the conflicting values attached to education but in the misperceptions they have of one another. Despite the passionate and often unrealistic dreams of black parents, teachers continue to view them as uncaring, unsympathetic, and ignorant of the value of education for their children and unconcerned about their children's academic success in school. Often they perceive the parents' lack of involvement in ritualistic school events and parent conferences as apathy and disinterest and rarely interpret it as the inability to negotiate the bureaucratic maze of schools or as a response to a long history of exclusion and rejection at the school door. Their lack of success in effectively participating in the relatively superficial and peripheral roles allowed ghetto parents is perceived by teachers as a lack of interest and concern in their children's education. The irony, of course, is that they care too much - a kind of caring that limits their view of alternative strategies for moving forward; a blinding preoccupation that makes black parents and children more vulnerable to the modes of subtle and explicit exclusion they face in relation to schools. (p. 166)

Lightfoot concluded that successful schooling for minority children is dependent on the development of effective home-school collaboration:

> Schools will only become comfortable and productive environments for learning when the cultural and historical presence of black families and communities are infused into the daily interactions and educational processes of children. When children see a piece of themselves and their experience in the adults that teach them and feel a sense of constancy between home and school, then they are likely to make a much smoother and productive transition from one to the other. Black familial and cultural participation will require profound changes in the structural and organizational character of schools, in the dynamic relationship between school and community, in the daily, ritualistic interactions between teachers and children, and finally, in the consciousness and articulation of values, attitudes, and behaviors of the people involved in the educational process. The irony of the academic and sociopolitical assaults on black families lies in the fact that historically black families have been the central sustaining force of black culture; that black families have been productive educational environments, teaching children survival strategies and the ability to negotiate dissonant cultural sphere; and that the collaboration of black families and schools is the only hope for the successful schooling of black children. (p. 175)

A major research effort in the form of transforming experiments to facilitate home-school relationships would offer the potential for discovering a significant source of support for teachers' sense of efficacy. Bronfenbrenner (1976) has emphasized the importance of research to improve home-school relations for the solution of current social problems:

> This dissociation of social structures has been increasing rapidly in recent decades and has been accomplished by a parallel deterioration of socialization processes and outcomes. Hence experiments that undertake to reverse the process by constructing and strengthening interconnections between ecological systems offer promise both for scientific understanding and for social policy. (p. 14)

If teachers and parents were provided with the transforming experiences needed to correct the misperceptions that alienate them, socialization for the child of poverty could become a continuous, supportive process from home to school rather than an antagonistic process requiring the child to choose between home and school. Improving relations between teachers and parents of children from low socioeconomic backgrounds would probably have a more dramatic impact on teachers' sense of efficacy than any other single transformation, because teachers' deeply held beliefs about the futility of motivating children from "uncaring" homes of poverty families provide a strong defense for a low sense of efficacy.

Conclusion

Our cultural belief in the stability of human traits tempts us to conceive of teachers' sense of efficacy as a character trait that has potential for the screening and selection of candidates for teacher education and teaching positions (Trentham, Silvern & Brogdon, 1981). Our research suggests that such an expectation is unwarranted. Teachers' sense of efficacy is negotiated daily in their myriad transactions with students, parents, peers, and administrators. It is situation-specific, dependent on the individuals and interactions involved in each transaction. Thus, the teacher is ever vulnerable to self-doubt induced by the unpredictability and uncontrollability of human interaction. Given this uncertainty, teachers' sense of efficacy is in continual jeopardy, in danger of attack by resistant or hostile students, angry parents, demanding administrators and dissatisfied colleagues. Even the most self-assured teachers admit to periods of frustration and discouragement in response to certain classes or specific students, or occasional "bad days." Thus, teachers' sense of efficacy is faced with continual challenge from multiple threats. Teachers who succumb to feelings of inefficacy are likely to suffer debilitating stress and be less effective with students. Yet with a supportive administrator, a change of circumstances, a different class, or a new perspective, such teachers may renew their enthusiasm and their effectiveness. Rather than focus on the identification of efficacy as a characteristic internal to the teacher, future research should explore the processes by which teacher education and socialization practices, organizational structures, instructional techniques, administrative strategies and home-school relations can reduce the threats and increase the support of teachers' sense of efficacy.

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